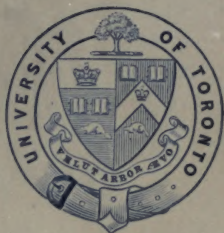




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A HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES

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REVIEW COPY

A HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES

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10/7/22

LONDON: W. B. CLIVE

University Tutorial Press Ltd.

HIGH ST., NEW OXFORD ST., W.C.

1921

PREFACE.

IN this book four main principles are emphasised: the influence of geographical conditions, the importance of the command of the seas, the value of individual enterprise, the gradual growth of an Imperial consciousness.

The object has been to produce something more than a filling in of the outlines of the expansion of race as narrated in the ordinary text-book of English History; indeed the arrangement is not chronological, and is intended to suggest that the subject is one deserving study independently of the narrative of home affairs.

The authors hope that this record of what has been achieved by the initiative and enterprise which have been characteristic of the nation will commend itself not only for school use, but also to those senior readers who, for one purpose or another, are in need of a short account of the history and present government of the British Commonwealth of Nations, including the territories added by recent treaties.

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INTRODUCTION.

GEOGRAPHICAL INFLUENCES.

A. General Influences.—History finds one of its bases in geographical conditions: all events take place on the earth; each event is one of a series, and has causes and results which are modified by the influence of the environment. Among the conditions which are potent in directing the course of events, perhaps the most important is the position of a country with regard both to the world as a whole and to surrounding regions and seas. Valuable influences and advantages prepared the British people for their expansion into the British commonwealth of nations.

B. Britain.—Ancient long-continued earth-movements built the British Isles, shaped their surface, separated them first from the lost continent of Atlantis and later from the mainland of Europe, and left them almost exactly in the centre of the land hemisphere of the world, on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, near enough to the European continent to be influenced in climate, commerce, and civilisation, but safe enough in modern times from invasion. The submarine plateau on which they stand provides the inestimable benefits of tides and fisheries.

About a century before the commencement of the Christian Era, the western parts of Asia underwent a period of increasing dryness; this set in motion those

waves of migration westward into Europe from the steppes of Asia which brought about the fall of the Roman Empire. One effect of these migrations was to drive the early English tribes across the North Sea into Britain. The seafaring instinct which came over with those fiord ancestors from whom the bulk of the British people is descended has helped to make a seafaring British nation. Later invasions of Asiatic peoples, by recurrent shocks upon mediæval trade-routes, led to the development of ocean navigation and maritime discoveries which opened up new worlds and removed the centre of the world's commerce from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea to those of the Atlantic Ocean. Britain, which had previously been situated on the edge of the known world, now became the centre; a position which was before a hindrance became an advantage and a source of power.

A relatively long and well indented coastline has given to Britain harbours which are to-day vastly more important for the national welfare than even in the days of Elizabeth and Cromwell, when merchant fleets were small. An exceptionally favourable position between Europe and America places Britain on the main highways of ocean traffic. The Equatorial Current and the North-east Trade winds took Columbus across the Atlantic, but the Gulf Stream Drift and the westerly winds prevailing in latitudes north of the Tropic of Cancer gave English sailing ships the advantage for the return voyage. The small area of Britain is of advantage: a surplus of population caused the colonies to be effectively peopled; it is not large enough to enable the Home country to domineer over the Dominions; it is too small to support its population without their aid.

Towards the commencement of the fifteenth century, English agriculture began to give place to commerce.

Europe offered ready markets for the wool which English farmers raised more easily than grain since the Black Death had reduced the number of agricultural labourers and raised their wages. Long before the food resources of Britain had been even considerably developed, emigration took much of the increasing population into the channels of navigation which the British seafaring instinct and the fostering of the fishing industry made easy. Trading and colonising came naturally, even without the stimulus of privation at home.

Possessing natural and well defined boundaries, secure from without and compact within, Britain early began to form a national consciousness and to concentrate an energy which soon overflowed. The power of expansion developed early. Colonisation raised Britain from a small island state to the centre of a world-wide commonwealth.

C. Colonising—in Space.—Expansion overseas reaches first of all the coast of the country to be colonised. The first posts are placed within reach of the connecting ocean, where a bay, river mouth, island, or peninsula offers inducement to the settlers. On the fringe of a hostile land, until they are strong enough, newcomers need all the protection which natural conditions can offer, such as is to be found in such island-sites as those of Montreal or Bombay, and in peninsula-sites like those of Cape Town, St. John's, and Sydney.

The coast is the natural situation of the merchant's trading-posts; for the colonist it is merely the gateway to the land. Where a navigable river offers a route to the interior, a settlement is sure to spring up, as at New York, New Orleans, Karachi, and Calcutta. In course of time, river-valley and coastal plain become too small for growing colonies: these look further inland.

Where the natives were scattered, the white man advanced easily, as in America and Australia. Where natural barriers, like the Appalachian Range in North America, or the forest in Canada, or the Great Dividing Range in Australia, checked advance, gateways had to be found. Once the coast is passed, the history of colonies becomes that of expansion overland.

D. Colonising—in Time.—

1497. Newfoundland discovered.

1600. East India Company chartered.

1607. Jamestown, Virginia, founded.

1620. Pilgrim Fathers landed in America.

1704. Gibraltar captured.

1757. Battle of Plassey.

1759. Quebec captured.

1778. Botany Bay settlement landed.

1782. American Independence declared.

1795. Cape of Good Hope captured.

1882. Egypt occupied.

1902. First Colonial Conference.

Our oldest British colony, that of Newfoundland, owes its existence to a desire to emulate Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, and to the search for a British northern route to the Spice Islands. It was but natural that the earliest British exploration should take place in latitudes higher than those of the Iberian peninsula. Canada and India were won because in each case our hereditary enemies, the French, were present as rivals. The possession of India involved first the acquisition of South Africa because it lay athwart the Cape Route, and second of Egypt because it lay across the Suez Route to India.

Thus it is seen that geographical influences have contributed greatly to the expansion and growth of the British Empire.

CHAPTER I.

ELEMENTS OF THE EMPIRE.

A.—THE BRITISH ISLES.

1. General Description.—The British Isles rise from a submarine plateau connecting them geologically with the rest of Europe, of which at a remote period they must have actually formed a part. The total area of the British Isles, including the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, is about 120,000 square miles. The area of the entire British Empire exceeds 12,500,000 square miles. Thus the Empire is a hundred times as large as the Mother Country. Great Britain is the largest island in Europe and the seventh largest in the world.

The maritime situation of the British Isles has a favourable effect on the climate, making it milder and more equable than that of continental countries in the same latitude. The greatest range of temperature between the coldest and the warmest months is in England 24° F. In almost every district in Great Britain where the plough can move, farming of a superior description can be seen. A peculiar feature of English husbandry is the large amount of arable land forming permanent hayfields. In the rearing and fattening of stock there is no country in the world that can be compared with several districts of Great Britain.

Such is the mineral wealth of the British Isles that there is scarcely a metal or mineral product of economic value which is not worked, to a greater or less extent, beneath their surface. The output of coal in the United Kingdom in the year 1914 was over 265 million tons; about a quarter is exported annually. Nine million tons of pig-iron are produced annually.

The total value of fish caught around our shores is between eight and nine million pounds sterling annually. In the cotton industry Great Britain remains far ahead of other countries. The peculiar excellence of the wool furnished by the English flocks made woollens from earliest times, and for centuries the staple product of England. To-day the manufacture of woollens is next in importance to that of cotton, and draws largely for its supplies on other countries, particularly on the Australian colonies.

British shipping tonnage has grown to over 12 millions; imports have reached in value over £600,000,000, exports £430,000,000. The clearings of the London Clearing House were in 1914 over fifteen thousand millions of pounds sterling. The development of British shipping, when compared with that of other nations, is even more remarkable than that of its foreign commerce. Britain trades with almost all countries. The trade with the colonies and dependencies is very large, but not more than one-third as much as that with foreign countries. The foreign as well as the inland trade is greatly promoted by the highly developed system of communication which now exists. For proportion of railways to area, England, taken by itself, ranks very high, having one mile of railway to every four and three-quarter square miles of surface. Not only is the great bulk of trade between Britain and other foreign countries carried on in British ships, but so also is a large part of the trade between one foreign country and

another. Hence the mercantile marine of the United Kingdom is far greater than that of any other country.

The population of Britain in 1914 was 46 millions, and of the British Empire, 400 millions. This entire people constitute one-fifth of the world's population, living on one-fifth of the earth's land surface in all its five continents and innumerable islands. The increase of some of the British Colonies, especially of Canada and Australia, in population, wealth, and trade, has been prodigious within recent years.

2. Constitution.—Under the name of a constitutional and hereditary monarchy the government of Britain is vested in a Sovereign and the two Houses of Parliament. Laws passed by these Houses, and assented to by the Sovereign, become the laws of the land. The House of Commons has become the real centre of power and influence. The natural flexibility of the British Constitution is one of its greatest merits. One of the best examples of the quiet growth of unwritten law is the position occupied by the Cabinet, which is the connecting link between the legislative and executive authorities.

The fundamental maxim upon which the right of succession to the throne depends, is that the Crown is, by common law and constitutional custom, hereditary, and that the right of inheritance may from time to time be changed or limited by parliament; under which limitations the crown still continues hereditary. The power of the Sovereign is limited by the laws. The origin of the British Parliament has been sought in the Old English national assemblies. In the reign of Edward III., the separation of the three estates of the people into two Houses became settled.

3. Growth of Unity.—The island in the remotest times bore the name of "Albion." Caesar's two expeditions in

55 and 54 B.C., made it known to the Romans, who called it "Britannia." From the time of the Roman Conquest, and still more decidedly after the Saxon invasions of the fifth century, the history of Britain branches off into a history of the southern part of the island, afterwards known as England, and a history of the northern part of the island, afterwards named Scotland. The two divisions in course of time developed national consciousness, and it was not till the union of the crowns in 1603 that the destinies of England and Scotland began again to unite. It was not till the final union of the parliaments in 1707 that the histories of the two countries may be said to merge into one.

At the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, by which the British right of sovereignty over Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Gibraltar was acknowledged, the foundation of Britain's imperial and colonial power was securely laid.

B.—THE BRITISH COLONIES.

4. General Description.—A colony is a settlement formed in one country by the inhabitants of another. Colonies may be formed either in dependence on the Mother Country or in independence. In the latter case the name of colony is retained only in a historical sense. Properly, the term should be limited to a settlement which carries on a direct cultivation of the soil, as in the Dominion of Canada or Australia; such settlements as those of the British in India being the mere government of the natives by a ruling race, which takes little or no part in the general industry of the country. The motives which lead to the formation of colonies, and the manner of their formation, are various. Sometimes the ambition of

extending territory and the desire of increasing wealth have been the chief impulses in colonisation, but colonies may now be said to have become a necessity for the surplus population of European states.

According to their government relations with the crown, the colonies are arranged under three heads—

(a) *Crown Colonies* in which the crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the home government.

(b) Colonies possessing *representative* institutions but not responsible government, in which the crown has no more than a veto on legislation, but the home government retains the control of public officers.

(c) Colonies possessing representative institutions and *responsible* government in which the crown has only a veto on legislation and the home government has no control over any officer except the governor.

All colonies are, however, precluded from such acts of independent sovereignty as the initiative in war, alliances, and diplomacy generally.

5. Divisions.

(a) SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES.

The Dominion of Canada.

Newfoundland with Labrador.

The Commonwealth of Australia.

The Dominion of New Zealand.

The Union of South Africa.

(b) COLONIES WITH REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

In Europe. Malta.

In Asia. Ceylon.

In Africa. Mauritius.

In America. Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, Jamaica, Leeward Islands.

In Australasia. Fiji.

(c) CROWN COLONIES.

In Europe. Gibraltar.

In Asia. Labuan, Hong Kong, Straits Settlements,
Turks and Kokos Islands.

In Africa. St. Helena, Basutoland, Ashanti, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Gold Coast, Nigeria.

In America. Falkland Islands, British Honduras.

(d) THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

EGYPT (1914).

(e) PROTECTORATES.

Brunei, Sarawak, North Borneo, Federated Malay States, New Hebrides, Swaziland, East Africa, Somaliland, Nyasaland, Rhodesia, Zanzibar.

(f) MISCELLANEOUS ADMINISTRATIONS.

Cyprus, Ascension, Tristan da Cunha, Aden with Perim and Sokoha, Wei-hai-Wei.

(g) MANDATES (1920).

Palestine, Mesopotamia, Togoland, Tanganyika Territory, South West Africa, Samoa, Nauru.

It should also be noted that:—

1. India, Egypt, and Malta have recently been granted increased power of representative government.

2 British New Guinea, called "Papua," is now a dependency of the Commonwealth of Australia.

3. Ascension is administered by the Admiralty. Tristan da Cunha has no formal government. Aden is controlled from Bombay.

4. In Palestine a national home is to be found for the Jewish people.

Togoland has been divided between the Gold Coast and Dahomey.

Tanganyika Territory is the greater part of the former German East Africa.

Samoa is administered from New Zealand.

5. Canada is our largest colony and Newfoundland our oldest possession.

6. The Indian Empire is not regarded by the British Government in the light of a "colony" but rather as a "mandate."

C.—THE COMMAND OF THE SEAS.

6. Ancient and Mediaeval Control.—In ancient days, only those nations which pursued a sea-borne commerce, and naturally possessed a numerous fleet of merchant vessels, could pretend to any command of the seas. They owed it to the number of their ships alone, and usually found that the only people who challenged their rights were the pirates. The outstanding examples of those times were the Phoenicians of Tyre and Carthage and, of course, the Romans.

In the Middle Ages, sea-borne trade gave a kind of numerical supremacy to two groups of maritime peoples. Around the coasts of the Baltic and North Sea, trade was a monopoly of the North German Hanseatic League. Their numerous enemies compelled them to defend their vessels against attack. Venice, impregnable against land attacks, on a lagoon at the head of the Adriatic, and independent of any monarch, defeated its rivals and assumed control of Mediterranean sea-routes. Her power lay in her numerous ships. Slavery and the Crusades added to her markets. Her possessions on the mainland were an unending peril to her, for though they led to the overland trade highways, they could not be defended by sea-power. Her strength declined in three successive stages. The first was when a league of European states took away her mainland possessions and rendered the overland routes insecure. The second was when the Turk grew over-

powerful in the Levant. The last blow came when the Cape route to the East was opened by the Portuguese.

Until about the year 1500, sea-power was limited in area. In ancient days the Greek controlled the Eastern Mediterranean, the Carthaginian ruled the western portion. In the Middle Ages Venice was supreme in the Mediterranean, the Hansa in the Baltic, and England in the Channel.

7. The Beginning of Modern Control.—Sea-borne commerce and sea-power go hand-in-hand. Both are dependent on at least three factors. Sailors must know how to navigate in an open sea, where landmarks are absent. The ship must be able to endure all kinds of rough weather. Attack and defence must be provided for, without decreasing the ship's carrying powers. The stars may be obscured; the trade-winds and monsoons may cease in certain quarters. Then are needed the mariner's compass and the chronometer. But Vasco da Gama and Columbus had very imperfect instruments; they also had imperfect ships and imperfect cannon. Nevertheless their sailing-vessels were much more effective than the ancient oared galley.

Modern sea-powers have their origin in the discovery of the Cape route, not only because efficient instruments, good shipbuilding and effective cannon were beginning to be known, but also because states then for the first time had sufficient revenue and adequate military forces.

The last great galley battle, Lepanto (1571), where the Imperial power of Spain united with the declining maritime power of Venice to crush the Turks in the Levant, saw the dawn of new sea-powers. Ten years after, the English Levant Company received its charter from Elizabeth.

8. The Entry of England and Holland.—During the early sixteenth century, Spain and Portugal, by virtue

of prior discovery, were without serious rivals in their new spheres of sea supremacy. French and English raids did not shake their power. But two nations were gathering strength which later shook that monopoly to its foundations. Holland was struggling for its independence. England was working towards unity and was ridding her ports of the Hanseatic "Steelyards."

Always a maritime nation, the English were fully aware of the significance of sea-power. Under the Tudors, naval administration was improving. Shipbuilding and seamen were encouraged. The admiral was a judicial and military officer. Previously, a general levy of men and ships and a contribution from the Cinque Ports (Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich) were joined to the king's private ships to make a fleet. Now a royal navy arose with a navy board and naval dockyards. Henry VIII. fixed the lines of naval administration in a way that held ground till the later nineteenth century, while the navies of Spain and France were grossly mismanaged and had divided control.

The Netherlands, with their great port of Antwerp tapping the trade of Central Europe, would have grown into a more serious competitor than they eventually did, but for the deep enmity between the northern Protestants and southern Catholics. The Northern United Provinces broke from Spain in 1579, with an unalterable conviction never to submit to any external authority. So Holland, predominant in shipping, wealthy and united, plunged into the contest. Scandinavia and Russia were fighting the Hanseatic monopoly, while England and Holland engaged themselves against Spain and Portugal. Thus could Holland maintain a maritime power, but when France at last obtained a unity under despotic monarchs, the lack of substantial territory laid Holland an open prey

to this third competitor. These four powers then:—Spain with Portugal, England, Holland, and France, were to wage a bitter contest severally for sea supremacy.

9. The Influence of Drake.—At the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, not only was it evident who were the nations that would enter the contest, but each was beginning to lay its claim to various parts of the New World, and to the trade-routes. England fought against each of her rivals, in succession, for the command of the seas, just as she fought them for trade and colonies.

The first contest was waged for her very existence against Imperial Spain. Henry VIII. had recognised early that England must depend upon her navy for national defence. It was also necessary to check piracy and to patrol the trade-routes. Almost yearly, improvements were made in the Venetian type of fast sailing war-vessel. The acknowledged supremacy of the English navy was established in 1545, when the French were beaten in the Solent. Under the Protector Somerset and under Queen Mary, the fleet did not maintain this promise, as the loss of Calais shows. Even Philip II. of Spain, Mary's husband, had the intention in 1554, of strengthening the English navy in conjunction with his own fleet.

Under Elizabeth a new "naval programme" was prepared which went far to render the English fleet the most effective in Europe. She encouraged merchant shipbuilding by a bounty on all ships built over a certain size. The formation of the Admiralty in 1559, and the appointment of John Hawkins in 1575 as contractor to the navy, were exceptionally important events.

Drake was a leader in adventurous experiments. His idea of a fighting ship was contained in the *Revenge*. It was a ship of 441 tons' burden, had a length of 92 feet and a width of 32 feet. Two fighting decks stood high

out of the water and 34 large guns were carried. These men-of-war were heavily armed in proportion to their size. Gunnery was learnt from the Italians, and all ocean-going ships were armed. When in 1580 Portugal was absorbed by Spain, a committee upon which Drake sat, in 1583, gave fresh stimulus and energy. In 1568 Hawkins and Drake were severely beaten at San Juan de Ulua by Spanish treachery. Then in 1577-80 came Drake's voyage round the world. In 1585 an English fleet, including some ships of the royal navy, swept the Spanish Main to secure the year's revenue of Mexico, with which Spain might have ravaged the Netherlands, then our ally.

After years of preparation came the Invincible Armada in 1588. It was ill-designed, and its ships, armament and stores were scattered over three ports. In 1587 an English fleet swooped upon Cadiz harbour and brilliantly destroyed vast stores. Of the hundred odd ships which harassed this unwieldy mass of transports, when it ventured out at last, commanded by military leaders, only a quarter were of the royal navy. Many were volunteer vessels, and the Queen strangely stinted her supplies; but Drake and his comrades never doubted their power to win.

Philip was beaten not by patriotism or energy alone, but by superior organisation, shipbuilding, gunnery, and equipment. Above all the victory was the triumph of new tactics evolved by Drake. The old aim was to imitate a land-battle, to grapple, board and capture hand-to-hand. Drake realised that artillery must be supreme to demoralise the enemy and to sink or capture his ships. He had been beaten at San Juan de Ulua by his lapse into the old tactics, but at Cadiz and against the Armada his novel strategy was abundantly justified. The attack on Cadiz led by Essex in 1596, Drake having died at Puerto Rico, was organised on the new scheme and was completely

successful. Thus was established that offensive character of English naval strategy which set up our command of the seas.

10. The Influence of Cromwell.—Under James I. and Charles I., indifference and internal dissensions caused the navy to fall into neglect. Buckingham alone tried to restore efficiency. Up to 1642 ships were added at the rate of one or two annually; between 1642 and 1649 none was added; but after 1649 ships were ordered in tens, and in 1654 twenty-two were launched. The Commonwealth saw the navy immensely effective. A strong fleet guarded Dover and the Thames, the entire coast was patrolled, and squadrons were stationed in the Mediterranean and off the West Indies. The contest was now for supremacy and the carrying-trade, for in 1650 the Dutch were supreme. They were rich and united, while England had been torn by civil war: but two years of strenuous activity brought the Dutch to their knees.

The English naval officers were chosen for merit and were energetic. The sailors were well treated. Ships, stores, and equipment were now excellent, as were also the dockyards. In the war of 1652-4, the Dutch yielded the command of the seas: 1,500 prizes had been captured from them in those two years. Cromwell, however, thought it more meritorious to attack Catholic Spain than Protestant Holland. He centred his shipbuilding in the Thames and at Portsmouth. He had several vessels of 1,000 tons' burden carrying 80 guns each, many ships of 500 tons, and numberless swift gunboats. He was admirably aided by his officers and crews. Over half of the national revenue was spent on the reorganisation of the navy.

Holland was in peril both by the power of Spain and by its removal; for a new enemy, France, at once took its place. Again, Holland was weakened by its political con-

stitution, owing to a division between the burgher class and those who supported the house of Orange—Nassau. Cromwell would not support the Stadtholder because he was connected with the Stuarts. England defeated the Dutch by superior efficiency; but the forest of masts in the Zuyder Zee quickly sallied out after the peace of 1654, and the Dutch navy became even stronger at sea, so much so that they could sail up the Thames and destroy Chatham dockyard during the Second Dutch War, when Charles II.'s government had criminally disbanded the royal navy.

11. The Rivalry of France.—The fact that, in this second war, Holland was the ally of France, is important, not because the war was affected by it, but because France now became our chief rival at sea. This condition of affairs continued till 1815.

Before the rise of despotic monarchy in France, her spasmodic activity on the sea had given way before England and Venice. Then Cardinal Richelieu (1624-42) took direct control of the French navy. His aim was to cut off Spain from Italy and the Netherlands. He built up a fleet from insignificant beginnings, but at his death it fell again into decay. This neglect was the less perilous to France, because the Spanish navy was almost useless, and the Dutch were now occupied in attacking Portuguese Brazil. Cromwell's war with Spain had won for us Jamaica, and Charles II.'s marriage to a Portuguese princess gave England the island of Bombay. It also placed England in the position of protector of Portugal.

Many conditions arose, making a conflict inevitable. England in 1688 was in close connection with Holland and Portugal; France was internally united and at peace with Spain. If war ensued, the task of England was simple. She could concentrate on the sea campaign, while subsidies to continental allies would dispense with the

need of a large army. France, however, had an immense task on land, so that her powers were unequal to waging a strenuous war at sea. William III. accepted the offer of his father-in-law's vacant throne, because he saw in England a valuable aid against the power of Louis XIV. Thus, indirectly, England became the rival of France, and was in an especially good position to maintain the supremacy at sea.

James II., who, when Duke of York, had been naval commander at the Battles of Lowestoft and Southwold Bay against the Dutch, had during his reign carried out thorough and efficient measures to restore the English navy from the hopeless confusion into which it had fallen during the latter part of his brother's reign. From this time onwards the issue was never in doubt. England continually had the supremacy and maintained her Empire intact against the French until the close of the contest in 1815.

12. Modern Developments.—When George I. came to the throne, the navy consisted of 178 ships, ranging from about 374 tons' burden to one of 1,869 tons carrying 100 guns. Two leading qualities now stood forth as the most important objects to be attained in the construction and equipment of vessels for war—strength of offensive armament, and speed and facility of manoeuvring. Two classes of vessels, according to the preponderance of one or other of these qualities, thus came to constitute the chief strength of modern fleets. The ship of the line, or first-class war-vessel, carried the strength of offensive equipment to the utmost limit practicable without sacrificing sea-going qualities. The frigate, or cruiser, only excelled in strength by a battleship, was built to secure speed.

The *Comet*, built at Woolwich (1822) was the first steamship (moved by paddles) in the British navy; the

Dwarf 1843) was the first screw warship in our service. Our first ironclad, the *Warrior*, was launched in 1860, following the French *La Gloire* (1858). The *Dreadnought*, launched in 1906, was the first turbine warship.

The British navy has admirably aided the building of the Empire by its protection of the British Isles, and of trade-routes and communications. It is still our one "sure shield" against foreign aggression. It stands to-day supreme in all qualities necessary to success. The British are "everywhere," because they have the undisputed command of the seas.

13. The Great War, 1914-1918.—In 1914 the first great war that demanded the armed force of the entire British Empire broke upon the world, and in it was seen the immense value of direct naval aid from the Dominions. Austria declared war on Serbia on July 28th, 1914, a date chosen to coincide with the scattering of the British fleet after the manoeuvres. It was a Sunday; the First Lord of the Admiralty was away; but the First Sea Lord, Prince Louis of Battenberg as he was then, gave the order for the fleet to "stand by." Within two hours of the declaration of hostilities, the British fleet was off the German coast, ready to turn back any transports which might carry a hostile invading force.

The naval war was waged by the Germans in several phases. They first tried the effect of laying indiscriminately enormous numbers of mines in the North Sea. The expansion of a service of minesweeping vessels by the British navy soon rendered minelaying in a wholesale manner as useless as the planting of special areas was valuable.

The Germans also attempted a world-wide attack upon commerce. It was evident that all overseas bases would be taken by British forces, and soon after the outbreak of

the war a German colony in the Pacific Ocean fell into the hands of an Australian expedition. Therefore the German squadron in the Far East abandoned Kiao-Chau and used isolated places visited by supply ships from neutral ports. These lonely spots were fairly safe, because they lay away from the ocean highways. Very few commerce raiders got clear away because of the immediate readiness of British forces. These also were defeated, because the navy did not hunt the raiders themselves, but preferred to capture their supply ships. So long as a German raiding vessel contented itself with unarmed merchantmen, it enjoyed comparative impunity; but if it risked a fight and consequent damages, its career was ended. Thus when the *Königsberg* had destroyed the *Pegasus*, she had to seek refuge up the Rufigi River. Again, the *Emden* could create havoc in the Bay of Bengal, while the British navy hunted her supply ships; but when she sailed into Penang under the Japanese flag and destroyed a Russian cruiser, she was doomed, and she was smashed up at Kokos Islands by the Australian cruiser *Sydney*.

The German admiral from Kiao-Chau, Von Spee, was a smart and capable officer. He had two good armoured cruisers, *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, and some small fast cruisers. He used the Chilian island of Juan Fernandez as a base, in defiance of neutrality. When he met the British Admiral Cradock off Coronel with inferior forces, Cradock was overwhelmed. But Von Spee had exhausted his ammunition, and was in his turn annihilated by Admiral Sturdee in the Battle of the Falkland Islands. With him ended the useless commerce war.

It seems likely that the bombardment of the English coast by German squadrons was really a game of bluff to hide an attempt to get battle-cruisers out on the trade-routes for a larger commerce-raiding expedition, as when

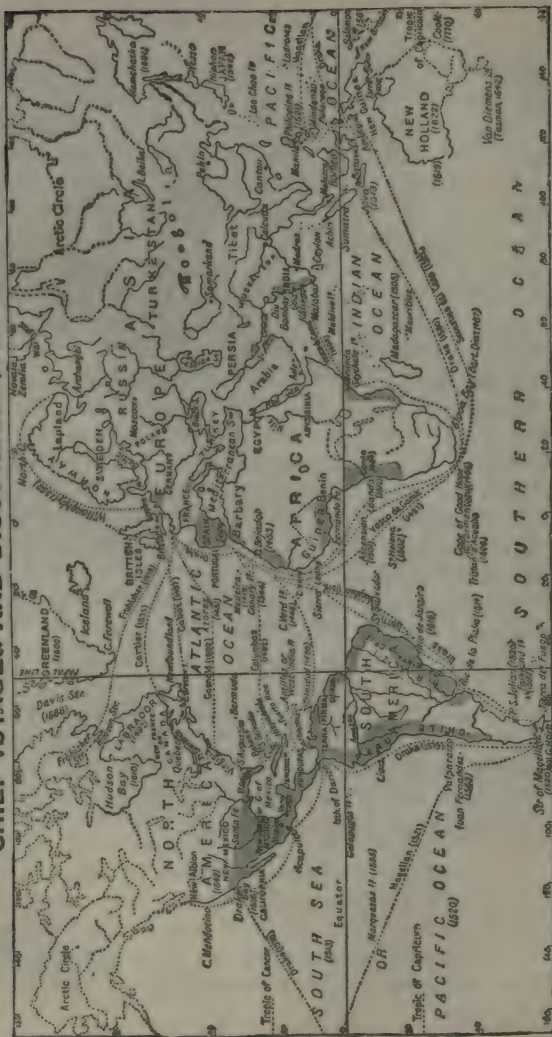
Admiral Beatty met them at the Battle of the Dogger Bank on January 24th, 1915, and sank the *Blücher*.

The next phase of the naval war was the Submarine Blockade, by which the Germans attempted wholesale sinking of all cargo and passenger ships. Although this was called "piracy" and "frightfulness," it was not really so, but an artful rendering of the law that if a merchant ship shows fight it can be sunk without warning. This submarine war was simply suicidal, as the British Navy soon found means of destroying hostile submarines, and Britain was not starved into surrender.

The great work which the British Navy accomplished was the maintenance of communications, and this was so skilfully carried out that there was never a cessation of the transport of troops across the Channel, and from the Dominions and India. In the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea, the British Navy remained on the defensive, and where possible on the offensive, to prevent enemy operations. The fact that no decisive action comparable with Trafalgar occurred is the greatest possible compliment to British naval efficiency.

The British Navy has kept the Empire united and intact, and won its well-earned reward in the meek surrender of the German Navy for internment at Scapa Flow in the Orkneys and at Harwich. This achievement fully endorsed the view that the Command of the Seas, which had never been lost by the British Navy, is a vital necessity for the integrity of the British Empire.

CHIEF VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1400-1700 A.D.



DIRECTIONS.—The chief voyages are shown roughly by *dotted* lines. The names of navigators are printed in *letters sloping backwards*. The dates are of *first discoveries*, except where otherwise indicated. Coastlines and rivers shown dotted were unknown to Europeans at the end of the seventeenth century. Philip II.'s dominions (Spanish and Portuguese) are *shaded*.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE WORLD.

14. The Mediaeval World.—The voyage of Columbus in 1492 was epoch-making, and may conveniently be regarded as a landmark dividing the Middle Ages from modern times; yet the brilliant and daring adventure of Columbus was at the same time a link connecting mediaeval and modern exploration. Before Roman times, the Greeks, the Phoenicians, and the Carthaginians had explored the coasts of Southern Europe, Northern Africa, and parts of the Atlantic. Greek philosophers had speculated on reaching the Far East through the Pillars of Hercules, but until the beginning of the thirteenth century such voyages were never attempted. The great maritime results of the fifteenth century must be regarded as the fruits of the labours of the two previous centuries.

The Renaissance, which was at its height in Europe during the latter part of the fifteenth century, gave a great impetus to geographical discovery. The same motive which led to the rise and development of Gothic architecture, to the beginnings of modern painting, sculpture, and music, led men to seek more knowledge of the world in which they lived, and to examine more closely the traditions which had been handed down to them from antiquity.

The state of geographical knowledge in the fifteenth century was such that it opened up to the imaginative

minds of that age a wide field of speculation and enquiry. The whole of the Old World was known, except the northern coasts of Europe and Asia stretching from Cape North in Norway to Northern China. To Europeans, the contour of South-East Africa was unascertained, but it was well known to Arab seamen who navigated the Indian Ocean. About one quarter of the earth's surface had been mapped out: it was the achievement of the first voyage of Columbus to reveal the breadth of the Atlantic Ocean, and to prove the existence of numerous groups of islands perhaps near a continental shore, which subsequent voyages revealed. The voyage of Columbus was indeed a turning point in the knowledge of the globe: eighteen years after his death the shape of the New World was roughly known, its southernmost point had been rounded, and the Pacific had been crossed. The actual achievements of Columbus, measured by the area of the lands that he discovered, were small, but nevertheless he changed the conception of geography.

15. Causes of Exploration.—It will be profitable to enquire what were the motives that led to a desire for a fuller knowledge of the world.

(a) *Missionary Zeal.* The increased vitality of Roman Christianity during the fifteenth century as a result of the Renaissance, stimulated geographical discovery. Various religious and military orders assumed the function of spreading Christianity: Central Asia was penetrated and efforts were made to convert the peoples of Northern Europe. These missionary enterprises opened up new lands, especially in Asia, whilst Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal moved by the same spirit, aimed at converting the mythical "Land of Wealth" of Central Africa into a Christian dependency of Portugal. Prince Henry's scheme represents the final effort of the crusading

spirit: the same motive was avowed by Columbus, who believed that the recovery of the holy places of Jerusalem would be made easier if he discovered a way of reaching the East by the West. Prince Henry, "The Navigator," inspired the exploration by the Portuguese of the coasts of Northern and Western Africa: the expeditions that he organised served the double purpose of providing cheap labour by the huge capture of slaves, and of adding at the same time by compulsion, large numbers to Christianity.

(b) *Love of Adventure*. In addition to the crusading spirit, there was a large number of men who were driven to explore the world by a love of adventure. This is characteristic of a period of history which produced a desire to be free from the cramping boundaries of past ages, and to see what the world had to offer. Just as men were seeking for freedom of thought in religion, sternly repressed at the time, but destined to triumph at the Reformation, so in the same way a spirit of enquiry caused them to question the preconceived notions concerning the world. The explorations of this period may be regarded as attempts to answer these questions.

(c) *Trade*. One of the results of the attempts of Roman missionaries to secure parts of Asia for Christianity was that these districts were brought into communication and trading relationship with Europe: nor is this an isolated example of trade following missionary enterprise. It has already been pointed out that the Portuguese, in their exploration of Africa, combined crusading zeal with commercial enterprise: hitherto the Portuguese had purchased blacks from the Moors, but by navigating and exploring the African coasts, they hoped to obtain them first-hand.

Trade was also an incentive to exploration to English seamen of the fifteenth century. John Cabot was promised

by Henry VII. the sole right of trade with any country discovered: the activities of the Elizabethan seamen a century later were directed towards breaking down the Spanish monopoly of trade in South America, whilst the struggle with the Dutch in the East Indies in the seventeenth century was in order to obtain the valuable trading rights in connection with the Spice Islands. Examples could be multiplied showing the importance of trade as an incentive to exploration.

(d) *Scientific Discoveries.* The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are epoch-making on account of the noteworthy discoveries which were then made in the realm of science. These discoveries represent the scientific progress of the Renaissance, and are partially due to the decline in the authority of the Church, the avowed opponent of scientific research in the Middle Ages.

Copernicus (1474-1543) lived at a time when the Renaissance was at its height. His great achievement was to refute the Ptolemaic theory of the universe, which made the earth the centre of the universe, with the sun, moon, and stars revolving round it. The new theory of Copernicus placing the sun in the centre of the universe was so revolutionary that its author did not dare to publish it until just before his death.

Galileo (1564-1642) developed the theory of Copernicus still further, and for this he was imprisoned by the Inquisition. But Galileo is most important on account of the great advance that he made in the construction of the telescope, and the way in which he applied it to astronomical discovery.

The Mariner's Compass was brought to Europe from China about 1260 by Marco Polo, a Venetian traveller. The great difficulty in maritime discovery both for the Ancients and for men of the Middle Ages was the necessity

of keeping close to the shore. Their only guides were the sun during the day and the pole-star at night, but these guides were not available in cloudy weather. Thus the introduction of the mariner's compass greatly facilitated geographical discovery and exploration, whilst about the same time chronometers were improved, and it became possible to find longitude with some accuracy.

Gunpowder was also probably of Chinese origin but it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that it came into general use. It revolutionised the methods of warfare, and the possession of fire-arms explains the easy victory of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru.

(e) *The Capture of Constantinople by the Turks, 1453.* The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 necessitated the discovery of new routes to the East uncontrolled by the Turks. Trade routes had been established between Europe and Asia (including India) viâ the Danube, Asia Minor and the Red Sea, but the success of the Turks in 1453 closed this route to the East and showed the urgent need for the discovery of a new route to the East in order to save the Indo-European trade. Exploration at the end of the fifteenth century was directed towards this achievement.

Two alternatives suggested themselves:—

(a) To follow the west coast of Africa to its southernmost point, and then to cross the Indian Ocean until the coast of Asia was reached.

(b) To sail due west from the "Pillars of Hercules" across the Atlantic Ocean, until the eastern coast of Asia was found.

It will be convenient to record the activities of the seamen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries under these two headings.

16. The Cape Route.—The Genoese and Portuguese

explored the coast of Africa during the fourteenth century, their aim being to reach the fabulous "Land of Wealth," which was supposed to be situated in the rich and fertile district now known as Guinea. The overland route to this part of Africa was commanded by the Moors, and therefore the Christians had necessarily to take to the sea route. The exploration of the western coast of Africa and of the Indian Ocean, which continued throughout the fifteenth century, may be examined under the work of three men.

(a) *Prince Henry the Navigator* (1394—1460), whose mother was the sister of Henry IV., King of England, took part in 1415 in the capture of Ceuta, on the coast of Morocco, and became governor of that town. This success of the Portuguese gave them a command of the Atlantic that the Moors were unable to contest. The title of "The Navigator" is somewhat misleading, since in all probability Prince Henry never went further away from Portugal than Ceuta, nor had he any conception of rounding the Cape of Good Hope as a means of reaching India. His ideal was to emulate the character of St. Louis of France, and he was moved by religious rather than by political motives. His aim was to convert the Saracens, and he obtained a special indulgence from the Pope for all who should fight for the destruction of the Moors and the exaltation of the Catholic Faith. He secured in this way the exclusive right of navigation on the west coast of Africa; later, the advantages of slave-trading were discovered, and slaves were used to cultivate the lands which had been laid waste by the Moors in Spain and Portugal.

The waves of African enterprise, inspired by the enthusiasm of Prince Henry, increased in strength. In 1440, the first of the Azores was discovered, whilst other adventurers

made their way down the African Coast, past Cape Verde as far as the Gambia River. A rich field of commerce was opened up, and new wonders were brought back to Portugal. By the time of the death of Prince Henry in 1460, the coast of Africa had been explored to the Gulf of Guinea: it remained for later explorers to cross the Equator, and finally to circumnavigate Africa, and to extend their enterprise to the Indian Ocean.

(b) *Bartholomew Diaz* in 1486 was charged by King John of Portugal with the task of following the continent of Africa to its southern extremity. Already, since the death of Prince Henry in 1460, the equator had been crossed by Portuguese seamen. Diaz followed the coast as far as the mouth of the Congo, and from this point he decided to strike out to sea, instead of keeping close to the shore. He was driven back towards the coast by the rough seas, and at last reached Mossel Bay, on the southern coast of Africa, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope unawares. Diaz followed the coast as far as the Great Fish River, realising that he had completed his task when he saw that the trend of the coast was in a north-easterly direction. On his return to Portugal, he again rounded the Cape, calling it Cape Tempestuous. Diaz had proved that there was a Cape route and had opened up many possibilities of trade and commerce. Henceforth the object of the Portuguese was transformed: their crusading ideal ceased, the vastness of the discovery was gradually realised, and trade with the East seemed to be within their grasp. The success of Columbus a few years later made them realise the importance of their enterprise.

(c) *Vasco da Gama* was chosen by King John of Portugal to complete the work of Bartholomew Diaz by carrying the Portuguese flag round the newly-discovered Cape of

Good Hope to the shores of India. The suggested voyage from Lisbon to India was the greatest feat of seamanship ever attempted in those days: it was a far greater undertaking than the voyage of Columbus to America, which was a distance of 2,600 miles and took thirty-six days, whereas the voyage of Da Gama to the Cape alone was 3,770 miles and occupied 93 days.

Da Gama in this memorable voyage first sailed to Cape Verde, and then proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, calling at the island of St. Helena on his way. Leaving Mossel Bay, he passed the mouth of the Great Fish River, the furthest point reached by Diaz, and on Christmas Day 1497, he reached the roadstead which being discovered on Christ's natal day, was called Natal. He proceeded further north, past Mozambique, as far as Malindi, where he obtained a pilot to conduct him across the Indian Ocean to Calicut, the great emporium of eastern trade, which he reached ten months and twelve days after leaving Lisbon. In spite of some attempts on his life by the natives, who hoped to deal the Portuguese a crushing blow at the very beginning of their undertaking, Da Gama succeeded in taking on board a valuable cargo of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves and nutmegs, besides rubies and other precious stones. He left the East in August, 1498, and arrived in Lisbon in September 1499.

The way was thus opened for Europe's maritime invasion of the East: but the treachery experienced by Da Gama made it necessary for the Portuguese to be prepared to defend themselves. This was the task and achievement of *Albuquerque*, who in 1510 captured Goa, which under Portuguese protection became the most thriving port on the Malabar coast. In 1511 Malacca was captured and a trading station established at Ormuz, near the entrance of the Persian Gulf. By these successes, *Albuquerque*

established the Portuguese position in the East. These discoveries opened up possibilities of an entirely new sea-borne trade for Portugal, whilst for the first time the East was brought directly under the influence of the West. But perhaps Portugal made one fatal mistake in not colonising the Cape of Good Hope.

17. The Atlantic Route.—As the Portuguese were drawing nearer and nearer to their goal, the western voyage attracted more attention: and as maritime enterprise went further and further into the unknown seas, the idea of seeking the East by the West gained countenance. From the time of Plato, tradition had told of a land beyond the Pillars of Hercules—a land known under various names, the Atlantis of Plato, the Vineland of the Northmen, the Garden of the Hesperides of classical legend.

Toscanelli, a Florentine geographer, was one of the first to revive the old idea: he was consulted by a Canon of Lisbon as to the possibility of reaching the East via the West; he gave a spoken reply favourable to it, and in 1474 confirmed it by a letter and a chart on which the proposed westerly course was marked out. This chart guided Portuguese seamen in their search for the western land. Their fundamental conception of a large solitary island in the middle of the Atlantic was wrong: Columbus was the first to reach America because he was the first to realise that the essential condition of success on a western voyage was definitely to abandon the fruitless methods of previous explorers, who after sailing some distance west, adopted a zigzag method of exploration. Columbus determined to sail due west from the Old World: he assumed that there was no land between the Azores and the coast of Asia. This resolve and the firmness with which it was carried out, were the fundamental reasons of the success of Columbus.

(a) *Christopher Columbus* (1435-1506) was born at Genoa, and went to sea as a youth in the service of Portugal. About 1470 he settled at Lisbon, the great resort of travellers and navigators, and married the daughter of an Italian explorer, whose papers and charts were of the utmost importance to him. He was in correspondence with Toscanelli, and about 1485 he began to seek assistance to enable him to carry out his project. Columbus had already some reputation as an explorer, since he had sailed in the voyages to Guinea, and had taken part in expeditions far beyond Iceland. It was natural that he should first appeal for help to Portugal, whose seamen, by their circumnavigation of Africa, had given Portugal a monopoly of Eastern trade which could be successfully defended. It was equally natural that Portugal should reject the proposal, since the discovery of a new route to the East would break down their existing monopoly, and would ultimately benefit the stronger maritime powers of Western Europe.

Columbus next appealed to the city of his birth, Genoa: but the interest of the Genoese was obviously to keep open the overland routes to the East, and for the same reason, the rival city of Venice, to whom Columbus next appealed, rejected his proposal. Columbus realised that he must appeal to some power which had no interests in maintaining the existing courses of trade, and for whom new discoveries would open up new trade routes. He appealed therefore to England and Spain simultaneously, hoping to play off one against the other.

Columbus himself went to Spain, and his brother Bartholomew to England: the latter was captured by pirates who kept him three years, but eventually he arrived in England. Henry VII. listened favourably to his proposals and determined to summon Christopher to a

conference, but in the meantime arrangements had been almost completed with Spain, with which country, on April 17th, 1492, a contract was signed, securing for Columbus the usual rewards of maritime service, together with a few personal advantages.

Great preparations were made to execute this plan: three ships were obtained and provisioned for twelve months. On August 3rd, 1492, Columbus set sail from Palos, and a month later reached the roadstead of Gomera, in the Canary Islands, which he quitted on September 6th. During the voyage Columbus observed the variation of the magnetic needle. He had to overcome the fears and superstitions of those with him by various deceptions, but on October 12th, 1492, he landed on one of the Bahama Islands, wearing the costume of Admiral of Castile, and holding aloft the Castilian banner.

He cruised about for three months, visiting Cuba and Hayti, and gaining a general knowledge of the West Indian Archipelago. His subsequent voyages in 1493, 1498, and 1502 revealed little more. He showed utter incompetence in his administration as Governor of these new Spanish dominions. He wrote: "The true wealth of the Indies are the Indians." To Columbus the only commodities worth carrying to Europe were gold, and slaves as a means to gold. He died in 1506 and his name was soon forgotten: an ignorant and forgetful world credited *Amerigo Vespucci*, who visited the New World several times, with the discovery made by Columbus, and from him the continent takes its name. The true achievement of Columbus was not in the discovery of large tracts of land, but in showing that there was land to be discovered in the West. By 1506 over seven thousand miles of the Atlantic coast of America had been revealed.

(b) *John Cabot*, a citizen of Venice, though of Genoese

extraction, settled at Bristol with his family in 1490. He had set his mind on transatlantic discovery, and had come to Bristol on account of the interest of that city in exploration. Bristol was one of the chief ports of Europe, competing with Venice and Genoa, and many skilled navigators came from the Continent to Bristol to obtain employment. Bristol was roused to activity about 1495 by the success of Columbus, and John Cabot became the chosen instrument of their designs. In 1496, Cabot and his three sons set sail in a boat manned by eighteen hands; he was furnished with royal letters, authorising him to annex for England all lands that he could discover, and, on condition that twenty per cent. of the profit should go to the Crown, Cabot was to have the sole right of trade. He returned a year later to England, reporting that he had sighted Newfoundland, whose magnificent fisheries he mentioned, and that he had coasted for about one thousand miles a large continent.

In 1498 Cabot went out again with five ships, and this time he tried to find the north-west passage. He sailed a long way up the east coast of Greenland, and then, finding further progress impossible, he tried the west coast. He was forced, through the mutiny of his crew, to return, and he died soon afterwards.

The voyages of Cabot did not accomplish much: it was not until sixty years later that Englishmen began once more to turn their attention to America. But one indirect result of Cabot's voyage is important: Spain maintained that Cabot had been in the Gulf of Mexico, and had been poaching, and therefore Spain was stirred to greater efforts in the New World.

(c) *Cabral*, the commander of a Portuguese expedition to the East in 1500, proposed to round the Cape of Good Hope by making an immense circuit to the westward after

leaving Cape Verde Islands. In doing so, he lost sight of one of his ships, and whilst seeking for her, lost his course. Unexpectedly he descried land, which turned out to be the coast of Brazil. He was not the first to reach this coast, as a Spanish explorer, Pinzon, had landed on the same coast only three months previously.

(d) *Magellan*, a Portuguese seaman who had long been employed in Portuguese trade to the East, left the service of Portugal, and entered the employment of the King of Spain, who sent him out in 1519 to prove that the Spice Islands were in that part of the New World assigned by the Pope for Spanish trade. During this famous voyage he reached the Pacific by passing through the straits at the south of South America which bear his name. He was not destined, however, to return to Spain, since he was slain by a native in one of the Philippine Islands; but his vessel, the *Victoria*, was brought back to Spain, after making the first circumnavigation of the globe in a voyage occupying three years.

(e) *Cortes* was sent in 1519 by the Governor of Cuba to test the rumours concerning the abundance of gold in a country to the north of Darien, where Balboa as early as 1513 had ascended the highest peak and had sighted the great ocean, then seen for the first time by European eyes, which was afterwards named by Magellan the Pacific.

Cortes landed at a port named by him Vera Cruz, and the appearance of his men alarmed the natives of Mexico, who sent costly presents of gold and silver. The cupidity of Cortes was aroused and he determined to conquer that country. He advanced far inland, and after many struggles, he found himself master of the capital and of all the resources of the Mexican Empire. The King of Spain appointed him Governor of Mexico: Cortes showed himself to possess the qualities of a statesman as well

as those of a soldier, and by the time of his death, in 1540, almost the whole of Central America had become known.

(f) *Sir Hugh Willoughby* attempted in 1552 to find a north-east passage to the Far East, corresponding to the south-east passage round the Cape of Good Hope. He sailed with three vessels, but was overtaken by winter: he laid up for the winter in a harbour of Russian Lapland, but was frozen to death, with the crews of two of his vessels.

Chancellor, the captain of the third vessel, landed with difficulty at Archangel and returned viâ Moscow. This disaster stopped further attempts to find a north-east passage, and turned men's attentions to the north-west. Frobisher was the first to commence that fruitless search, lasting over 250 years, for a passage which the last century has proved to have a geographical existence, but to be impossible to navigate.

18. Results of Discoveries.—These discoveries led to the foundation of colonies, which took place during the seventeenth century. By the year 1600 it might be said that the general shape of the world had been revealed. Large tracts of unoccupied land invited settlers, and political, commercial, religious and social conditions in the Old World facilitated this movement. England had no colonies in 1600: but the discoveries of the previous century had prepared the world for the colonial expansion of the seventeenth century.

These discoveries also led to a vast extension of commerce: the Mediterranean was no longer the chief centre of European trade. The importance of Venice declined, and there was a rapid growth of ports in Western Europe.

CHAPTER III.

PIONEERS OF EMPIRE.

19. Individual Enterprise.—The New World was revealed to Europeans in the fifteenth century by the voyages of Columbus, da Gama, Magellan, and others. These mariners were the sign-posts on the road to Empire: they showed the way to those pioneers who first exploited their discoveries. They were of other races besides the English, just as to-day we find Frenchmen in Canada, and Dutchmen in South Africa.

Individual enterprise has always preceded imperial organisation. Aided throughout the changing fortunes of peace and war by the successes of generals and by a growing command of the seas, the activities of countless pioneers, continuous since Tudor times, have gradually built up vast colonies and dependencies.

These pioneers worked in varied ways, unconscious of their importance to posterity and mainly seeking their immediate reward in commercial profits. Each class of pioneer has its outstanding examples and influences.

A.—EXPLORERS.

The discoveries of certain pioneers, whose labour it was to investigate particular portions in the vast areas which the explorers of the "heroic age" had revealed, led the way almost immediately to exploitation and settlement.

20. Cabot. Newfoundland, Labrador.—After 1497, the magnificent cod-fisheries of the Newfoundland banks which lie at the meeting-place of the Gulf Stream and the Labrador Current, were visited annually by fishermen from the West of England, Ireland, Brittany and Normandy. Settlement began tentatively after 1583, when the island was annexed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert under the authority of Queen Elizabeth. By the terms of the charter of exploration granted by Henry VII., Cabot was himself to profit by the results of his venture. He also led to the foundation of Nova Scotia in 1621, and to the English claim to the south bank of the River St. Lawrence.

21. Raleigh. Virginia, Guiana.—In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh began a settlement on the mouth of the Roanoke. The first expedition to Virginia was under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, among others. It was at first only a starting-point of further exploration. The early history of this colony was a long record of suffering and failure. The settlement was later removed to Jamestown on Chesapeake Bay, first explored by Captain John Smith, who reorganised the colony between 1606 and 1609 and who removed the undesirable element of "gentlemen adventurers." This, probably our earliest colony, owes its origin to Raleigh alone. He showed the way for the expansion of England, and was the first to have a firm grasp of the meaning of Empire.

When his first attempts in Virginia proved failures, Raleigh hoped for success in Guiana, the region lying between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers in South America, where the Spaniards claimed sole rights of trade over a vast unoccupied area. In 1594, he sent an expedition to examine the delta of the Orinoco. The next year, having secured a charter of annexation, he himself led a venture in which many influential persons, including the minister

Cecil, were interested. The Orinoco was explored for a distance of 300 miles. Raleigh brought home glowing accounts, but the Queen would not consent to immediate settlement. He lost his life for having aroused the anger of the Spaniards during a search for a gold mine down the Orinoco in 1616, when James I. wished to gain the favour of Spain.

22. Drake. East Indies, British Columbia.—In 1577 Francis Drake set sail from Plymouth with five small ships on a secret expedition. The Queen, however, was implicated and made no remonstrance. In 1580 he returned after having been the first Englishman to sail round the world. He had sailed by the Cape Verde Islands to Brazil, where a storm scattered his ships, through the strait of Magellan and into the Pacific Ocean. In 1578 the largest island in the strait was proclaimed English territory, and the important fact was established that Tierra del Fuego was an island. In the harbour of Valparaiso, Drake took much treasure and he also captured the plate ship sailing from Peru to Panama. He touched at Costa Rica and California.

Two most important events marked the Pacific voyage in 1579 :—

(a) Hoping to discover the north-west passage from the Pacific end, Drake anchored in a bay north of San Francisco. His kindly treatment of the natives won their confidence and he annexed their land, calling it New Albion. This was later to become British Columbia.

(b) Having abandoned his first project, he crossed the ocean towards the Portuguese Indies. At Ternate in the Spice Islands he concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with the native Sultan, and so gave the first impulse to the trade of London with those regions.

After having refitted his only remaining ship near Java,

Drake made the Cape passage to the south and so came home with much treasure. His reward was a knighthood.

23. The French in North America.—A great deal of early exploring in North America was carried out by Frenchmen. In 1534 Jacques Cartier, a sea-captain of St. Malo, reached the mouth of the river St. Lawrence and coasted the shores of what is now New Brunswick. In 1535 he reached the site of Montreal, and in 1540 he led an expedition to settle near Quebec. It failed owing to quarrels. After much labour, Samuel Champlain established settlements along the St. Lawrence, and in 1608 at Quebec.

A great French traveller, La Salle, aided by Frontenac, the greatest of French Canadian statesmen, explored from 1668 the lakes Erie, Huron, and Superior. In 1671 the Ohio river was reached, and in 1682 he explored the Mississippi river to its mouth. This had been first reached by the Jesuit Marquette in 1673. The famous French colony of Louisiana round the delta of this river was begun in 1697 by D'Iberville.

The later results of this activity were vastly important, for the attempts of the French to join up Canada to Louisiana threatened to cut off the colonists of New England and its sister settlements from the interior of the continent.

24. Cook. Australia, New Zealand.—The legend of a great southern continent was obscured for some time by the superior attractions of the Spice Islands. At the outset of the seventeenth century, a Spanish pilot, Torres, discovered the strait named after him, and may have seen Cape York. He was soon followed by the Dutch, of whom the most important in this connection was Tasman. Setting out from Batavia in the Spice Islands in 1642, he explored the south-east coast of Australia and named it

after Van Diemen, the Dutch governor in the East Indies. He also found New Zealand, the Friendly Islands and other groups. "New Holland" was therefore claimed by his countrymen but never occupied because the western coast was so uninviting. William Dampier, a piratical English adventurer, visited New Holland in 1689 and reported that it was unfit for colonisation.

In 1769 Captain James Cook, a practical sailor, who had made the soundings of the St. Lawrence for Wolfe's attack on Quebec, was sent out by the Royal Society to make observations of a transit of the planet Venus, predicted by the astronomer Halley, and which was observable only in the southern hemisphere. He not only succeeded in accomplishing this object, but also cleared up many problems concerning New Holland. He systematically surveyed extensive portions of various coast-lines, but did not penetrate into the interior. In 1770 Cook proclaimed British dominion in these regions, and the earliest settlements were made in 1778 at two points named by him—Botany Bay and Port Jackson respectively. We therefore owe our Australasian possessions directly to this great pioneer.

B.—MERCHANT VENTURERS.

25. Bristol, Plymouth, London.—King Henry VIII. encouraged English expansion at a time when a new conception of politics and commerce was arising. His own problems compelled him to be cautious. Thanks to Thomas Cromwell and his royal master, the mercantile marine was increasing in volume and power. While the star of Venice had declined, Antwerp was controlling the distribution of Eastern goods, and Cadiz was storing up the riches of Mexico and Peru.

English merchants were unwilling to lose such glorious opportunities, and the seaport towns of the south, from London to Bristol, began to send out ships, at first principally to the Levant (Eastern Mediterranean shores), to the Guinea coast (West Africa), and to north-east Europe. Merchants and gentry began to combine their capital in directing commercial ventures in all directions in the Old World and in the New. The reign of Elizabeth was a time of beginnings. Encouraged but unaided by the state, commercial enterprise was left to the initiative of individuals. Until 1550 the only patent for overseas trade was that given to Cabot. In 1549 Sebastian Cabot was made Grand Pilot of England, and about this time organised enterprise arose. Chief among the great associations of merchants who exploited various trade areas were those of Bristol, Plymouth, and London.

The Bristol merchants were connected especially with Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. From Bristol and its neighbourhood, where Cabot's voyages were financed, two hundred fishing vessels visited the cod-fishing banks annually. While Bristol was concerned in the search for the north-west passage, the merchants of London equipped the expeditions which sought the north-east passage. To London we also owe much early trade with the Hudson Bay lands, with India and the East, with Africa and the West Indies.

In 1607, after Raleigh's failure in Virginia, the project was taken up by London merchants, who sent out an expedition under James Smith, a soldier of fortune, famous for his continental adventures. The settlement was placed at Jamestown on the James river. James I. had granted a charter to the merchants of London and Plymouth for American trade. They divided the coast from the Bay of Fundy to Cape Fear between them. The

London branch had the southern part, while the Plymouth branch had the northern part.

From these beginnings arose the great chartered companies which competed successfully with those of the French and the Dutch, and with the state-controlled trade of Spain and Portugal. The carrying-trade of the world, long lost to the Venetians, was gradually wrested by the English from the ships of the Portuguese and the Dutch. Lisbon and Antwerp had superseded Venice. They were in turn surpassed by London and Bristol. The produce of the Spice Islands, of the Levant, and of the Guinea Coast, the furs of the Far West and the riches of the West Indies poured into English ports. All this success was due to the splendid enterprise of English merchant associations and to the excellence of English maritime organisation and shipbuilding.

C.—TRADING COMPANIES.

26. Monopolies.—Sir Walter Raleigh and his near relative Sir Humphrey Gilbert deserve to be ever remembered among the principal founders of our colonial empire. In the same way, the year 1607, when the Virginia Company took up the labour of American colonisation, is memorable as the commencement of colonial enterprise.

The first guiding motive of colonisation was Trade. Under Queen Elizabeth, the East, the African coast and the Mediterranean ports provided a flourishing commerce, which grew rapidly in the reign of James I. Few private persons could alone equip and arm a merchant vessel, so that companies were joined for their special commercial purposes. Many such companies arose at this period. On account of their possession of royal charters, they exercised monopolies in their own spheres. So much of

the national trade fell to the share of London that when it produced disproportionate profits, much jealousy was aroused. In 1604 the customs of the port of London rendered revenue over six times as great as did those of all the rest of the country. However, the House of Lords prevented the Commons from abolishing these monopolies.

Some of these early companies are important because they were directly responsible for the exploitation and settlement of vast areas, others because of their peculiar projects or their influence in directions other than that of successful commerce.

27. The Muscovy Company.—This venture is important because it served as a model for many similar companies of Africa and the Levant. The north-east passage to the East was sought by a company of London merchants under the presidency of Sebastian Cabot. In 1553 Richard Chancellor, a survivor of the expedition, practically rediscovered Russia, by his journey from Archangel to Moscow. In consequence, the company of merchant-venturers received a royal charter in 1554 for exploration and commerce in those regions. Their journeys extended to the Caspian Sea and even to Persia, and much trade resulted.

28. The Company of Cathay.—This venture had no practical success, and is interesting only as an instance of the enthusiasm of those days. It sent out Frobisher in 1576-78 in search of the north-west passage to Cathay (China). Needless to say, his task was impossible to achieve.

29. Newfoundland was first settled through the efforts of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother to Raleigh. He had inspired Frobisher's efforts in 1576. Then, having formed a company chiefly of Southampton merchants, whose chairman was the minister Walsingham, he landed a settlement at St. John's in Newfoundland in 1583. This

company unfortunately lapsed and the patent or charter was then worthless.

30. Virginia and New England, after the failure of Raleigh's scheme, won comparative success through the companies of London and Plymouth.

31. The East India Company.—The E. I. C. received its charter on Dec. 31st, 1600. A desire for a free way to the East without rivals had for nearly a century inspired English maritime enterprise. Two events furthered the achievement of this aim. Firstly, the union of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal about 1580 had produced a first-rate naval power and caused Englishmen to consider Brazil and the East Indies as much a Spanish monopoly as were the West Indies and South America. Secondly, the defeat of the Armada in 1588 encouraged English sailors, because the ships of that vast fleet were Portuguese, built in the Tagus and launched from Lisbon.

The colonial systems of Spain, Portugal, and England afford an interesting comparison. Both Lisbon and Madrid discouraged private enterprise and distrusted viceroys. They regarded new territories as being mainly a source of revenue. Philip II. of Spain wanted treasure above all else, in order to maintain his European supremacy. Portugal desired a state monopoly in slaves, spices, and silks. Nevertheless it is but just to remember that, at this time, many more Portuguese emigrated than either Spaniards or Englishmen. Brazil was a true colony of permanent agricultural settlements and remained secure against all settlements attempted by enemies.

Portugal maintained an unsteady hold on her other trading-posts by the sword alone. Drake's voyage in 1579, marked by the treaty of Ternate, occurred when the power of Portugal in the East was on the point of decline. With her Eastern capital at Goa on the Malabar coast of

India, defended by a strong fleet, she nominally owned the African coast from Morocco to the Red Sea, and the coast of Asia from Aden to the Moluccas.

On the other hand, English colonisation proceeded upon purely private enterprise. For instance, in 1591 James Lancaster, a typical Elizabethan sailor, as representative of an association of London merchants, penetrated the Portuguese sphere, even to the Malay peninsula. Rivals appeared: an association of Dutch merchants sent out vessels to the same islands in 1595 and 1598, sailing by the Cape route. Realising the huge extent of Eastern trade, a meeting of London merchants called together by the Lord Mayor in 1599 formed a company of traders. The next year it was incorporated as "The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London trading to the East Indies," with a fifteen years' monopoly. It was essentially the result of private enterprise: its members were of all degrees of merchants in the city of London; it had no connection whatever with the State. A keen grasp of business detail, and a firm maintenance of commerce free from government interference mark its origin.

The company's first voyage set out in 1601 under the command of James Lancaster and John Davis. Sickness and losses prevented them from reaching Table Bay till nine months had elapsed, and the voyage was prolonged to fifteen months before Sumatra was reached. At Bantam in Java three "factors" or trading officers were left to prepare further cargo, and in 1603 the venture returned laden with much valuable merchandise.

The second expedition sailed in 1604, under Sir Hugh Middleton, who arrived at Sumatra in nine months, found the factors prospering at Bantam, passed on to Amboyna and the Moluccas, and returned to Plymouth in 1605 with profitable cargoes. He had, however, observed the activity

of the Dutch, with whom James I. was at peace. It is important to note that English traders did not at first aim at dealing with India itself, but with the Spice Islands, and also that the Dutch were more formidable rivals than the Portuguese. Two other points stand out clearly: first, that spices and silks were sought rather than treasure; second, that commerce, not settlement, was the end in view.

The foundation of Batavia by the Dutch in 1619 and their "massacre" of the English at Amboyna in 1623, together with the indifference shown by James I., caused English trade to sink for a time into insignificance. The rivalry between the English and the Dutch brought about results of much later importance. Its first effect was to cause searches for new passages to the East. Finally, it appeared that two overwhelming naval victories of the English over the Dutch in 1612 and 1614 near Surat, had established the English in India itself; for in 1613 the Mogul Emperor granted them a site at Surat for a "factory" or trading post. In spite of the existence of Dutch and Portuguese factories in the same port, Surat continued to be the English headquarters for inland trade in cloths and spices.

Other stations were soon established; that of Masulipatam had been attempted in 1612 and was enlarged in 1622, Madras was purchased in 1639, and Hoogly in Bengal was started in 1640. The factory at Surat became the model for others. It was built round a square court, the ground floor being offices and warehouses.

The E.I.C. was originally a guild of merchants, the members of which could each trade independently. It became towards 1660 a kind of joint-stock company, financing single ventures in which all members had a share.

British Empire in India is the result of the enterprise

of this great pioneering company, which suffered at first from the indifference of James I. to the Dutch and the encouragement given by Charles I. to "interlopers" or outside adventurers. The Portuguese and the Dutch were outdistanced in the race for the control of commerce; the French in later years were beaten in the struggle for empire. Territorial expansion followed naturally upon trade. The company produced empire-builders of the stamp and genius of Clive and Hastings, and its later history is that of the expansion of the British in India.

Apart from the vicissitudes of wars, two crises mark its career. Firstly, in the reign of William III., a rival company, which advocated free trade in opposition to the monopoly of the first company, was incorporated as the "General Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies." Their rivalry grew ruinous, so that in 1708, the two were joined as the "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies." Its familiar nickname was "John Company." Secondly, the political power of the company was transferred to the Crown after the Mutiny of 1857. In 1873 it ceased to exist at all. Its work had been accomplished.

32. The Hudson Bay Company.—In 1670 a company was incorporated by Charles II. with a monopoly of trade in the district drained by the rivers which fall into the Hudson Bay and cut off from Canada by the dense forest and many useless waters. It was organised by a group of nobles at court, who were interested in exploitation. Its nominal head was Prince Rupert, after whom the country was first named. The first venture set out in 1671. After 1673 many traders were attracted to this region, and a contest arose between the Scottish traders of the Hudson Bay and the French Canadians of the newly-formed "North-West Fur Company" of Montreal.

The two were united in 1821. After 1859 the monopoly of trade ceased, and the company continued privately. It had established the monopoly of the world's fur trade, which London possessed, and from Forts York, Albany, and Churchill the company attracted the furs of the north-west, brought in by the Indians.

33. French and Dutch Companies.—In two directions it is necessary to acknowledge the trading companies of other nations.

Canada and the Mississippi Basin were the field of successful labours on the part of the French, instigated by two great French ministers under Louis XIV., namely, Richelieu and Colbert. Here and in India also the English came into contact with the French as explorers, colonists, and rivals.

The Dutch East India Company led the way in South Africa, from their headquarters at Batavia in the East Indies.

34. African Companies.—Africa also afforded an excellent field of exploitation. Among the many trading companies of that continent, three are especially interesting.

The African companies of London date from 1662. The *Royal African Company* received its charter in 1672, for the supply of slaves from the west of Africa to the English plantations in America. Fortified factories were established, chiefly along the Gold Coast. The monopoly ceased in 1689.

The *British South Africa Company* was founded in 1889 by Cecil Rhodes, to control the land inhabited by the Matabele and Mashona Kaffirs.

The *African Lakes Association* was settled at Blantyre after the great influx of missionaries and traders who followed Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyassa in 1878.

35. Further Developments.—There were three further

developments of the rise of trading companies which are important, not so much for their immediate success or failure as for their far-reaching political influences.

(a) The *Straits Settlements* arose as the result of the attempts of the British East India Company to make their way in China. In 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles established Singapore as a naval and commercial harbour, and in 1837 the Malay Peninsula was gained by treaty with the Dutch. A wonderful growth of commerce followed. Voyages to China date from 1670 and in 1842 the cession of Hong Kong secured privileges and protection for English traders.

(b) The union of England and Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne was almost wrecked by the failure of the *Darien Scheme*. Scottish trade was already feeling cramped by the operation of the Navigation Acts, but their traders and settlers were concerned in the Hudson Bay Company and also in Nova Scotia, which had derived its name from an Edinburgh company of 1621.

The Scottish parliament had in 1693 sanctioned the formation of a Scottish East India Company by William Paterson, one of the originators of the Bank of England. He now came forward with a scheme for establishing the Isthmus of Darien (Panama) as a world-wide warehouse, and obtained Scottish money and settlers in abundance. No sooner had the project commenced than utter failure set in. Sickness, ill-advised searches for gold, the hostility of the English companies, of the American colonists, of the Dutch and of the Spanish, all combined to wreck the scheme. In 1700 the Spaniards starved the Scots into surrender. The failure of this ill-fated venture produced the utmost bitterness between Scots and English.

(c) The *South Sea Company* was founded in 1711 by Tory ministers on the same lines as the Bank of England. It secured a monopoly of Pacific Ocean trade, of the supply

of African slaves, and of trade with the Spanish colonies. In 1717 its shares rose in value above par, and in competition with the Bank of England, it proposed to pay off the National Debt. Glowing accounts of the French Mississippi Company so inflated public opinion and inspired the directors of the South Sea Company with so much confidence that in 1721 they announced that the dividend should never fall below fifty per cent. A frantic rage for speculation gave rise to the most fantastic schemes and the Company was forced to take proceedings against some rivals of no legal standing. In consequence doubts set in, the "bubble" burst, shares fell rapidly and utter ruin followed.

Walpole, who became First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister, gained the confidence of the nation by his calm management of the crisis. No capital had been destroyed, and gradually trade was restored to its former level.

Happily the Empire has not been built upon such "wild-cat" schemes as this, but upon the firm foundation of individual enterprise like that of the East India Company. In India, America, and Africa, pioneering companies first exploited the riches of commerce and prepared the way for territorial expansion.

D.—SLAVE-TRADERS.

36. John Hawkins.—John Hawkins, the younger son of a Plymouth merchant, was an example of many peaceable merchants of the south of England ports. Avoiding controversial politics, he was on friendly terms with the Spaniards in the Canary Islands. From them he learnt much concerning the West Indies and discovered a fact which he later used to much profit. Negroes were plentiful and easy to obtain in Guinea for sale in Hispaniola

(Hayti). Backed by some willing London merchants, he took three ships to Sierra Leone in 1562, and thence carried three hundred negroes to San Domingo, where he exchanged them for marketable cargo. His second venture in 1564 met with three sources of peril: suspicion in Sierra Leone, the horrors of the sea crossing, and open hostility in Hispaniola. He was accompanied on his third voyage in 1567 by Francis Drake and two ships of the royal navy. By the treachery of a Spanish commander, Hawkins met with a severe naval defeat at San Juan de Ulua in the Gulf of Mexico. Henceforward trade in the Spanish West Indies was an act of war on the part of the English. Hawkins had founded the iniquitous English traffic in negro slaves and had also for the first time brought England into contact with Spanish America and the Inquisition.

37. Slave Trade.—In those days slave-labour was on all sides considered perfectly legitimate. The ancient states of Greece and Rome had been slave-holding communities. Some men defended the employment of negro slaves as a means of preserving the native Indians from dying out, and also of civilising the negroes themselves. In the English-American colonies of a later date we find the two extreme views on the question. The Quaker state of Pennsylvania was entirely free from slaves, while among the rice-fields and cotton-plantations of South Carolina the slave-system reached its utmost limit.

Up to 1600 the Portuguese were the first systematic slave-dealers. After 1620 the Dutch, who used Malay natives on their East Indian plantations and Kaffirs at the Cape, took negroes to Virginia and Barbados; and after 1662 the English-African companies endeavoured to obtain the lead in this disgraceful traffic. In the "Assiento" at the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the English obtained exclusive rights of supplying negroes to the Spanish West Indies.

Jamaica and the Carolinas were the chief English customers. The clearing of forests and the cultivation of cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, and coffee were undertaken by slave labour only. It was not until 1834 that the evil effects of negro slavery had so far grown evident that it was abolished in all British colonies. The American states fought a civil war over the same question.

38. West Africa.—An intimate relationship between the West Indies and West Africa grew up through the slave trade. Fort James was built in 1662 near the mouth of the Gambia river, and became a centre of English-African trade in negroes and native produce. It has been superseded by Bathurst. Cape Coast Castle and Accra, on the Gold Coast, were forts where the English competed for the slave trade against Dutch, Danes, and Prussians in the same district. After 1807 other commerce was substituted for the abolished slave traffic, and these forts became police-stations for its suppression. Sierra Leone, where Hawkins obtained his negroes, became a settlement for freed slaves. Lagos in 1861 became a police-station, a mission, and a seat of the palm-oil trade. From these British influence extended over the rubber and ivory trade of the Niger basin.

However iniquitous this slave traffic may appear, it certainly accounts for the rise to prosperity of some of our colonies in America and the West Indies, and also for many problems which now confront the descendants of the early planters in America.

E.—THE BUCCANEERS.

39. Foreign Policy.—The “heroic” age of maritime discovery was succeeded by an age of exploitation. Hawkins’ third and disastrous voyage had shown that peaceful trading to the Spanish Indies would not be tolerated, but

would meet with bitter opposition. Foreign policy as pursued by Elizabeth, James I., and the later Stuart kings, avoided war with Spain unless it was openly provoked, as it was in the case of the Armada of 1588. Nevertheless, an irregular warfare was waged continuously. The wise Elizabeth, while she did not openly approve, was in secret well pleased with the deeds of her valiant "sea-dogs." Three prime causes stimulated the privateers and rovers of the West Country in their attack on Spain: their adventurous spirit, a bitter hatred of the horrors of the Inquisition, and a wholesome contempt for the arrogant monopoly claimed by the Spaniards.

40. Piracy.—We can distinguish at least three phases of this "mosquito" campaign:—

(a) The Channel Rovers, chiefly Devon sailors and French Huguenots, plundered impartially all shipping which passed into the Narrow Seas. Nearly all the objects of their piracy were Spanish or Flemish ships trading between Lisbon or Cadiz and Antwerp. Motives of revenge and profit were strangely mingled. No doubt ministers like Cecil disapproved of such illegal doings, but the Queen ignored this view, because they were a fine source of future naval power.

(b) The Privateers, like Drake and Hawkins, were practically licensed rovers, commissioned and approved.

(c) The Buccaneers were utter pirates, the highwaymen of the seas. The Spaniard afforded most profits, and in consequence suffered most. Rogues of all nationalities joined forces; the English and French became pirates, while the Dutch preferred smuggling. From their headquarters in Jamaica and the neighbouring islands, in their swift, well-equipped vessels, called "vliebooten" by the Dutch, whence the term "freebooter" or "filibuster" is derived, they produced a reign of terror on the coasts of

Spanish America between 1625 and 1700. The name "buccaneer" is derived from an Indian word "boucan," meaning a place where meat is cured by smoking it. This curing of meat and logwood-cutting were the leisure occupations of the pirates. The little island of Tortuga was their original rendezvous. When this had been devastated by the Spaniards and finally seized by the French, Jamaica, which had just been captured by Cromwell's forces under Penn and Venables, became the headquarters; and Port Royal, for its riches and its vices, became a by-word among peaceful traders.

Most formidable, lawless, daring, and notorious of all the pirates, Henry Morgan, who had for a time worked in the plantations, welded into a disciplined force the discordant buccaneering elements. His project was no less than the conquest of all Spanish America. Portobello and Panama were sacked; vast riches were accumulated; countless unnameable horrors were perpetrated. Then, hearing that plans were mooted for his murder, Morgan handsomely robbed his comrades and set sail for England. Charles II. knighted him and made him governor of Jamaica. He so severely repressed his old comrades that the name of buccaneer soon ceased to cause terror on the Spanish Main.

To these men we owe Jamaica and some neighbouring West Indian islands, together with British Honduras, where a profitable trade in mahogany and logwood was carried on.

F.—COLONISTS.

41. Phases of Colonisation.—We can distinguish three phases of colonisation: exploitation, plantation, emigration. Roughly these varieties followed the same

order in point of time. First came the "factors," who were traders sent out under the auspices of merchant associations and trading companies. They did not intend to make a permanent home abroad. They collected the spices and silks of the East, the furs of the West, the oils, ivory, and rubber of West Africa, and the logwood of the Caribbean coast. Their "forts" were warehouses on the fringe of a seldom friendly country.

Before the death of Elizabeth, Englishmen were not driven abroad by persecution or starvation; they sailed as a business venture. The earliest plantations, like Newfoundland and Virginia, were failures, owing to inexperience. The first period of plantation commenced with the year 1603. Settlements were sometimes "proprietary," estates owned by a wealthy person or company; sometimes the community of settlers had equal rights of ownership.

After the death of Elizabeth persecution at home, political or religious, drove out many colonists. Economic pressure also was responsible for the foundation of some settlements. Again, political prisoners and convicts have formed the basis of some colonial populations. Lastly, farming, wheat-growing, and cattle-rearing, and the discovery of precious metals have caused emigration to colonies already founded.

42. Origins of the American Colonies.—Virginia was a colony of scattered manor-houses and estates. Town-life was non-existent. There were three classes of society: the planter aristocracy; the indentured servants, chiefly English farm-labourers; and the negro-slaves. Tobacco was the staple produce. There were no traders or workmen. The sympathies were Anglican and Royalist.

Maryland was owned by Lord Baltimore under a charter

of 1623. He possessed all rights. Religious toleration was granted to all.

The foundation of New England was the result of religious persecution. The Pilgrim Fathers, driven out of England for their Puritan ideals, had first lodged at Leyden in Holland. They sailed in 1620 to North America and landed at New Plymouth, near Cape Cod. Plantation was worked by a co-partnership and soon the London company surrendered all rights. The Puritans settled down to a life of hard work, which alone could promise success. Although charters were secured in England, and a sort of commercial profiteering first arose, representative institutions soon followed and the new colonies became self-contained.

Massachusetts was founded near Boston in 1628, by a group of Dorset Puritans within the Church of England. It introduced a new type of educated family. Slavery was rare, industries were few, small holdings were cultivated as the sole claim to citizenship. Education, law, religion, and agriculture flourished. Religious toleration was here unknown.

Connecticut (1633), Rhode Island (1636), New Hampshire and Maine (1615) were founded by religious exiles from Boston and New Plymouth.

South of Virginia lay the Carolinas. In North Carolina the proprietary system of ownership reached its worst. South Carolina was a slave-owning community; it had religious toleration, and possessed a famous, though fantastic, constitution (framed by John Locke in 1669), with representative government.

Pennsylvania was granted to the Quaker, William Penn, heir of Admiral Penn, in 1681 by Charles II. in payment of a debt. The settlers were Protestants: Quakers, Dutch, Swedes, Huguenots, and Germans. War and slave-labour were equally banned.

Georgia was founded in 1732 by General Oglethorpe, whose motive was philanthropy. Its first settlers were discharged insolvent debtors. Criminals were refused.

Political prisoners had generally been sentenced to transportation. After the battle of Worcester, Cromwell sent a large number to the American plantations, and after Sedgemoor the same sentence was repeated. Convicts were similarly dealt with, but after the loss of the American colonies, they were sent to Botany Bay and Port Jackson in Australia. South Africa, New Zealand, and Tasmania were also tried, but much opposition caused the system to be abandoned.

Emigration on a large scale did not commence till after the Napoleonic wars, when wheat-growing in Canada, sheep-farming in Australia, agriculture in South Africa and prospecting for precious metals, gave rise to a sense of manifold opportunities in the British colonies.

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLES FOR EMPIRE.

43. Phases of the Contest.—The New World had been made known during the early part of the sixteenth century, and the question soon arose as to who should possess it. At first England was not a serious competitor in the race: she had her own domestic problems to solve, and was only interested in the new discoveries as far as they afforded facilities for trade and adventure. But the peace given by Elizabeth to England extended men's ideas, and after 1570 England entered upon a struggle for empire which lasted until 1815, and which was renewed in 1914 under another aspect in the war with Germany and her allies.

These struggles fall into four phases:—

I. *Against Spain*, during the latter part of the sixteenth century: this was a struggle for existence and for the right to trade and colonise.

II. *Against the Dutch*, during the latter part of the seventeenth century: this was a struggle for the control of the seas, and for the carrying-trade.

III. *Against France*, during the eighteenth century: this was a struggle for colonial possessions.

IV. *Against Germany and her allies* (1914-1918), who aimed at dominating Europe, and ultimately the world.

44. Against Spain.—Spain was supreme in Europe in the middle of the sixteenth century: she was the home

of a great school of diplomats, her troops were acknowledged to be the best in Europe, whilst her navy was predominant on the seas. The annexation of Portugal in 1580 transferred all the wealth of the East to the Spanish Crown, which, on account of the Papal Bull of 1493, regarded as intruders all who attempted to trade with the East. It was against this power that England had to struggle first for the right of trade and colonisation. The causes of conflict with Spain were:—

(a) *Political.* (1) Philip of Spain, the husband of Mary, Queen of England, who died in 1598, wanted to marry Elizabeth, and did not realise the true policy and attitude of Elizabeth until 1570, when he perceived that Elizabeth had been merely temporising until England was strong enough successfully to resist Spain.

(2) It was part of Elizabeth's policy to keep Philip busy in the Netherlands in order at least to postpone an attack on England. Many English volunteers and much money were sent to William "the Silent": in 1568 Elizabeth ordered an attack on Spanish ships which were carrying the pay of the Duke of Alva's soldiers, whilst in 1585 she sent an expedition under Leicester to the Netherlands, thus making open war on Spain after the assassination of William in 1584.

(3) Mary Queen of Scots was executed in 1587; this action brought matters to a crisis, and was the immediate cause of the sending of the Armada. Mary had made Elizabeth's foreign policy more difficult after her flight into England in 1567: she was the centre of plots, instigated by the Spanish ambassador, against Elizabeth, who, in spite of the protests of Parliament, refused to execute Mary until compelled to do so by force of circumstances in 1587. Philip of Spain, who was descended from John of Gaunt, was the next Roman Catholic heir, and Mary had

left him the throne by her will, whilst the Pope was continually urging him to undertake a crusade against England.

(b) *Religious*. Spain was the foremost Catholic country in Europe whilst England was becoming the leader of Protestantism among European nations. Thus a conflict was inevitable. The feeling against Spain was increased by the cruelties of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, and by the torture of English sailors in the West Indies. The intrigues of Spain in connection with the plots against Elizabeth, and the part played by the Jesuits inflamed popular feeling against the champions of Catholicism in Europe.

(c) *Economic*. The Spaniards sought to enforce the precept that their colonies must trade with Spain only: this claim was challenged by Hawkins, who carried on a lucrative slave trade with the Spanish colonists. The feelings between England and Spain were further embittered by the attacks of Drake upon the Spanish monopoly in South America. At first he made no pretence of trade, but sought to do as much harm as possible to Spanish interests by plunder, capture, and destruction. His attack on the coast of Spain in 1585 goaded Philip into retaliation, and his raid upon Cadiz in 1587 delayed the coming of the Armada for one year.

45. The Armada.—The object of the Armada was to conquer England by bringing over from Flanders the Spanish army of the Duke of Parma. Hostilities had long been carried on during a period of nominal peace by the privateers of both nations, and this underhand kind of warfare had the secret approval of the Queen. The much-vaunted invincible Armada was delayed for at least a year by a brilliant expedition under Drake in 1587, which destroyed in Cadiz harbour the greater part of the Spanish

fleet. An unsuitable time of the year was chosen for the final departure of the Spanish fleet, which, leaving Lisbon in March 1588, was forced by the Atlantic gales to put into Corunna harbour until July. At last the Armada sailed, led by the Duke of Medina Sidonia. The great galleons, in crescent formation, were observed proceeding slowly up the Channel a fortnight before they anchored in Calais roads; the news was brought by merchantmen to Plymouth, and beacons flashed from hill to hill throughout England, announcing the coming of the foreign invader. The Queen reviewed her troops at Tilbury, and in a confident speech declared her defiance of Philip.

The English sailors refrained from attack until the Spanish fleet had reached mid-channel: then the stragglers were cut off. The Armada put into Calais roads, near where the Prince of Parma was waiting with his army. This was the English opportunity: fireships manned by a few daring volunteers carried terror and confusion among the enemy's galleons, which cut their cables and sought safety in the open sea. In the Channel were the English, and therefore they turned to the North Sea. The English gave battle and defeated them off Gravelines. The remainder of the Spanish fleet, harassed by the Dutch and pursued by the English, sailed north through the Pentland Firth. Storms added to their losses, and only fifty-three out of one hundred and thirty-two ships reached Spain.

46. Causes of English Success.—(1) The English ships were much lighter than the Spanish galleons, and were easier to handle and could sail faster. The Spanish were much later than the English in building galleons, and never made up the time lost. Their naval experts still clung to the idea that in a naval battle the ships of the enemy must be boarded, and therefore each ship was made to carry a large number of soldiers. Acting under

this delusion, few big guns were carried. The success of the Spaniards depended upon the enemy coming to close quarters, and this the English persistently refused to do.

(2) The internal organisation of the Spanish ships was bad: they were crowded, but undermanned. Their soldiers would not act as sailors, whom they despised. The captain of a ship was a soldier, and thus there was no unity or co-ordination. In striking contrast to this, on the English ships every man was both a soldier and a sailor.

(3) The English methods of attack were superior to those of the Spanish. The vessel itself, and not the soldiers on board, formed the fighting unit. The English were equally skilled in manoeuvring and shooting, whilst their firing was quicker and more accurate than that of the Spaniards. The English leaders were men of great experience in naval warfare; the Spanish leader was a soldier primarily.

47. Results of English Success.—(1) It showed the strong position England had reached through Elizabeth's policy of peace, and it placed England among the foremost powers of Europe.

(2) It ensured the safety of England and secured her from all danger from foreign foes. This prepared the way for the internal development of England and for her ultimate expansion.

(3) It secured the independence of the United Provinces in the Netherlands.

(4) It marked the beginning of the decline of Spanish power. A kind of guerilla warfare was continued against Spain, whose monopoly in the New World was attacked more aggressively than ever. It was not until 1604 that peace was made between England and Spain, by James I.

It should be noticed that Spain was not crushed at one blow: in 1596 she had sufficiently recovered to seize Calais, but in reply to this the English burned Cadiz. Yet the Spanish power was being gradually worn down, and the claim of England to share the rich inheritance of the New World was being upheld.

The foundations of the British Empire were thus securely laid, yet at the end of the seventeenth century Britain was still but a small island with a small population and no manufactures. No one saw at that time the rich harvest which was to be reaped in the years to come as a result of the decisive victory that the English seamen had won over Spain.

48. Against the Dutch.—A pacific policy was pursued by James I., one of his first acts being to make peace with Spain in 1604; his reign is marked by colonial expansion to Virginia and the New England States. During the reign of Charles I. England was occupied with domestic, constitutional, and religious questions. It was therefore not until the close of the civil war in 1649 that England took any important part in continental affairs.

The internal wars in England and the struggle between France and Spain had enabled the Dutch to build up a great colonial empire in the East Indies, North America, and the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch in the middle of the seventeenth century were the sea-carriers of the world, and disputed the claim of the English to the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas. It was against this power that England was compelled to make her *second* struggle for empire: the particular points at issue were the control of the seas and the carrying-trade of the world. It should be noticed here that England had removed the Spanish peril from the Dutch, only to make that people her next rival fifty years later.

49. The First Dutch War, 1651-1654.—The *causes* of this war were:—

(1) The rivalry of British and Dutch traders in the East. In 1623 the “massacre” of Amboyna had taken place when a few English traders had been murdered by the Dutch. As a result, the English left the Spice Islands to the Dutch, and turned their attention to India.

(2) The Navigation Act was passed in 1651: this aimed at breaking down the carrying-trade of the Dutch by enacting that all goods brought into England must be carried either in English ships, or in ships of the country from which the goods had been sent.

(3) The Dutch were irritated by the English claims in the narrow seas. Their prosperity was built on—

(a) their fisheries—the export of cured fish was reputed to bring them more wealth than all the Spanish gold;

(b) their manufactures, which were facilitated by their canals;

(c) their carrying-trade, which was promoted by the formation of trading companies. England was in a strong strategic position, since all Dutch ships must pass the English coast.

England had an efficient fleet, thanks to the interest of the Long Parliament in naval matters. Her fleet was not only superior in numbers, but was more solidly built, and could stand a battering better than the Dutch fleet, which was built primarily for the shallow waters off the Dutch coast. The English fleet was heavily armed and its officers more experienced in actual fighting than the Dutch leaders. The organisation of the English fleet was efficient, while that of the Dutch fleet was lax. It was with such a fleet that the war was opened in 1652 by an attack on Dutch commerce.

1652. Blake captured the Dutch herring fleet off Dover

and secured the mastery of the Channel by a victory in the Downs; but in November Van Tromp regained the supremacy by defeating Blake off Dungeness.

1653. February. Van Tromp, who was waiting in the Channel to convoy a number of homeward-bound merchantmen from the Mediterranean back to Holland, was attacked by the English fleet, which was fresh from port and fully supplied with ammunition and stores. The Dutch were at the disadvantage of fighting away from their base and were defeated by Blake off Portland.

June. Van Tromp was defeated off Harwich.

July. Van Tromp was defeated and killed by Monk off Texel.

1654. Peace was made by Cromwell in the First Treaty of Westminster, by which the Dutch agreed—

- (1) to accept the Navigation Act,
- (2) to salute the English flag in the Channel,
- (3) to compensate English merchants for outrages in the East,
- (4) not to help Royalists.

This peace was only a relief to the English, but was a vital necessity to the Dutch, who had already lost much of their sea-borne trade.

50. The Second Dutch War, 1664-1667.—The causes of this war were:—

(1) The old commercial jealousies between England and Holland continued. A second Navigation Act had been passed in 1660, which, amongst other things, sought to make England the central selling-market of the world by forbidding foreign factors to dwell in an English colony. It also sought to exclude all manufactured goods from English colonies except those which were sent from England.

(2) Colonial disputes took place in America between the

Dutch of New Amsterdam and the English of Virginia. In the East Indies also, the Dutch refused to surrender Pularoon, in accordance with a previous agreement.

(3) Charles II. desired war with the Dutch because of the exclusion of his nephew William of Orange from the office of Stadtholder.

Although war was not formally declared until 1665, yet in 1664 New Amsterdam was captured by an English squadron.

1665. Opdam, in command of the Dutch fleet, was defeated by the Duke of York off Lowestoft. As a result of this English victory, Louis XIV., who feared the growing naval power of the English, made an alliance with the Dutch, which, however, lasted only for a few months.

1666. *June.* The English fleet under Monk took part in a four days' battle against the Dutch, led by De Ruyter. The action took place off the North Foreland and Monk barely escaped defeat.

July. Monk routed the Dutch fleet in the Terschelling Roads, where he sank one hundred and fifty enemy ships.

1667. The English navy was laid up in the Medway, as Charles II. had used for his own purposes the money voted by Parliament for the continuance of the war against the Dutch. In June, De Ruyter sailed up the Medway and burned ships in Chatham Docks. But the Dutch, who realised that their success was merely due to English mismanagement, and who were alarmed at the claim of Louis XIV. to the Netherlands, agreed to the *Peace of Breda* in July 1667, by which—

(1) England retained possession of New Amsterdam which was afterwards re-named New York, after James, Duke of York. This acquisition made the English the lords of the entire East Coast of North America;

(2) The Dutch retained possession of Pularoon.

51. The Third Dutch War, 1672-1674.—The causes of this war were:—

(1) The Dutch, in spite of the two former wars, were still rivals too formidable to be allowed to continue unchallenged.

(2) Charles II., who was short of money, made an alliance with France, with whose king, Louis XIV., he made the Secret Treaty of Dover. Among other things it was agreed that England and France should jointly attack Holland. England was to conduct the naval warfare and receive Zeeland. This war was unpopular in England, but the dependence of Charles II. upon the French king made it inevitable.

(3) Louis XIV., in his policy of aggression, had succeeded in isolating Holland in Europe.

The chief features of the naval part of this attack on Holland were:—

1672. De Ruyter defeated the French and English fleets in Southwold Bay, thus averting a naval attack on Holland. On land, Louis approached almost to Amsterdam, which was saved from the French by the cutting of the dykes.

1673. Louis succeeded on land, but once again De Ruyter saved Holland, by a naval victory off Zeeland. Holland in this year was joined by Spain.

1674. Owing to the influence of the Country Party, led by Shaftesbury, who mistrusted the aggressive policy of France, peace was made with Holland by the Second Treaty of Westminster. The Dutch agreed to pay £300,000 to England, and to salute the English flag in the Narrow Seas.

52. Results of the Dutch Wars.—The power of the Dutch was gradually worn down, especially by the attacks of the French, led by Louis XIV. Their commerce was

preyed on by French pirates in the Channel: thus their carrying-trade was transferred to other countries, and England obtained a large share.

The necessity of raising large armies against Louis XIV. ruined the sea-power of the Dutch, whilst the constant wars with England caused a rapid decline of trade, manufactures, and commerce. Hitherto Holland had been an enemy or rival of England: henceforth she appears as an ally—in both cases a sufferer, because of her smaller size, weaker numbers, and less-favoured situation.

53. Against France.—During the period 1689 to 1815, France was the chief obstacle to England in her struggle for empire: in this period, seventy-seven years were years of war for Great Britain, and of these fifty-six were against France as the chief enemy.

There are several reasons why France became England's chief rival. France was at the height of her power during the early part of the eighteenth century, through the efforts of Colbert, who reorganised the financial position, abolishing internal customs but protecting French industries. France was more concentrated and united than any other country in Europe. Colonies were springing up in every part of the world and her navy was strong enough to defend them. Her people were prosperous and content, her statesmen capable, just, and honest. The French army had been reorganised by Turenne and Condé, while the navy had been built up by Colbert with the specific aim of founding a colonial empire. Thus France was strong internally and was in a position to challenge England's position on the seas and in the colonies.

The train of events in England involved her in continental politics and consequently in war against France, William of Orange became king of England in 1689. He had a European reputation as the opponent of Louis

XIV., who, in his desire to make the Scheldt and the Rhine the eastern boundaries of France, had adopted an aggressive policy towards Holland. William had formed in 1686 the League of Augsburg (Holland, Spain, and Austria) against Louis XIV., and in 1689 the Grand Alliance (England, Austria, and Spain). This was followed by the war of the Grand Alliance (1689-1697), concluded by the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.

Thus it will be seen that the internal history of both England and France made a conflict inevitable. The accession of William in 1689 placed England on the side of the enemies of France. The struggle lasted for more than one hundred and twenty years, and may be divided into four phases:—

(a) The War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713).

(b) The War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War (1740-1763).

(c) The War of American Independence (1774-1783).

(d) The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1789-1815).

54. The War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713).—The immediate cause of this war was the recognition by Louis XIV. of James Edward, the Old Pretender, as king of England. Again, Louis desired to exclude the English from trade in the East Indies. He aimed also at strengthening the position of France by uniting the crowns of France and Spain, in spite of the Partition Treaties of 1698 and 1700. In furtherance of his policy of extending eastwards the boundaries of France, Louis seized the Dutch Barrier Fortresses and placed French garrisons in them.

1702. The Extension of the Grand Alliance, which was joined by the Electors of Brandenburg, Hanover, and Bavaria, the Elector Palatine, and the Duke of Savoy.

1703. The Methuen Treaty with Portugal secured that

country as an ally by allowing Portuguese wines into England at one-third less duty than French wines.

1704. (i) After securing Holland in his campaigns of 1702-1703 by capturing forts along the Lower Rhine and Meuse, Marlborough, by his victory at *Blenheim*, saved Vienna, and made a projected French invasion of England impossible. This success secured the Protestant succession in England.

(ii) Gibraltar was captured by Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir George Rooke. England thus obtained an important naval base in the Mediterranean.

1706. Marlborough's victory at *Ramillies* secured Flanders, and drove the French out of that country.

1708. (i) The success of Marlborough at *Oudenarde* ensured the capture of Lille, and opened for the allies an important road into France.

(ii) Minorca was captured by Stanhope, and this made England the supreme naval power in the Mediterranean.

1709. Marlborough, who was besieging Mons, defeated the French relieving army at *Malplaquet*.

1709-1713. Negotiations for peace followed the recall of Marlborough in 1709. The Tories came into power in England in 1710, and, as they were always opposed to the war on account of its expense, they made peace in 1713 by the *Treaty of Utrecht*, by which England received Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay Territory. England was also to have the *Assiento* (*i.e.* the sole right of supplying slaves to South America), and the right to send one merchant ship per year to the Spanish colonies.

Results of the War.—The colonial empire of Great Britain was greatly extended and the development of colonies became possible. Great Britain became the leading naval power of the world, and, by the capture of Minorca and

Gibraltar, she was the supreme naval power in the Mediterranean. Lastly, the power of France was checked, and the ambitions of Louis XIV. to dominate Europe were defeated.

55. The War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War (1740-1763).—The Treaty of Utrecht checked the power of France on the Continent only: it did not settle the relation between England and France in America and India, where a struggle for supremacy was taking place between the two nations. Henceforth a war in Europe between England and France meant a war in the colonies also.

After 1713 there was a great era of peace, and, led by Walpole who consistently adhered to such a policy, England was unconsciously being prepared for the inevitable renewal of the struggle with France. The Family Compact was made between France and Spain in 1733, in order to resist the commercial and colonial encroachments of England. In spite of the *Assiento*, which gave England the right of sending annually only one ship to trade with South America, an enormous unauthorised trade had grown up between England and the Spanish colonists. Spain claimed the right of search, and, in 1739 upon her refusal to renounce that right, war was declared. A further cause of the war was the disputed Austrian Succession, and from this least important aspect of the struggle the war takes its name. In 1744 France joined Spain, and a struggle took place between England and France in India and America. The war was concluded in 1748 by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ensured the mutual surrender of conquests. This peace was unsatisfactory: it settled nothing and as a result the struggle was renewed in 1756.

The *Seven Years' War* was in reality merely a continuance of the War of the Austrian Succession. The causes of this war were:—

(1) The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle settled nothing as regards the future relation of the Dutch and French colonists in America and India.

(2) The struggle for colonies between the English and French in—

(a) *America*, where no boundaries had been fixed between English and French colonies. The French line of forts (Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Niagara, and Duquesne) prevented the English from extending westwards. In 1755 an unsuccessful attack had been made by General Braddock on Fort Duquesne.

(b) *India*, where Clive's seizure and defence of Arcot in 1751 checked the aggressive policy of Dupleix, and secured the accession of the British nominee, Mahomet Ali, to the throne of the Carnatic. This was the turning-point of British history in India and laid the foundations of the British Empire in Southern India. The British navy was supreme on the sea, and this, combined with the administrative ability of the English representatives in India, was the essential condition of power over India. Dupleix was recalled by the French Government, which did not understand his policy and objected to its expense.

(3) In Europe, Maria Theresa, who had determined to regain the kingdom of Silesia, sought the aid of Great Britain, whose king was anxious regarding the safety of Hanover.

56. Course of the War.

1756. The French captured Minorca, and thus Great Britain lost supremacy in the Mediterranean. As a result of this loss, Admiral Byng was executed, for nothing more than an error of judgment.

1757. (i) Montcalm was successful in Canada.

(ii) In revenge for the Black Hole of Calcutta, Clive set out to defeat Suraj-ud-daula. Clive was successful

at the Battle of Plassey; as a result of this battle, the English became supreme in Bengal.

1758. (i) Capture by the British of Louisburg and Fort Duquesne (afterwards re-named Pittsburg). This opened the way for British expansion to the west of America.

(ii) Lally, who succeeded Dupleix, was checked at Madras.

1759. "The Year of Victories."

(i) The French navy was overcome, and thus the French colonies were cut off from communication with France, by

(a) the defeat of the Toulon fleet by Boscawen off Lagos;

(b) the defeat of the Brest fleet by Hawke in Quiberon Bay.

These successes averted a threatened invasion of England.

(ii) In Canada, Quebec was captured by Wolfe: this followed as a result of the naval victories won by the British in the same year, which prevented the French from sending reinforcements to Canada. The French forts at Ticonderoga, Niagara, and Crown Point were captured by the British, and thus the French power was further reduced.

1760. Lally was defeated by Eyre Coote at Wandewash, in which battle only British and French troops were engaged. Once again, owing to the supremacy of the British navy, the French were unable to send reinforcements to India.

1761. (i) Capture of Belle Isle by the British.

(ii) Spain joined France, and as a result lost Manilla and Havana, which were captured by the English.

1763. George III., who succeeded to the English throne in 1760, desired peace in order that he might restore the power of the Crown. The *Treaty of Paris*, 1763, provided that:—

1. Great Britain should retain Minorca, Canada, and Cape Breton Island; all conquests in India, except Pondicherry; and a number of islands off South America. Great Britain was also given the right of cutting log-wood in Honduras Bay.

2. Spain gave up Florida in exchange for Havana, and received back the Philippines.

Results of the Wars.—Great Britain secured the eastern part of North America, supremacy in India, and command of the seas. This peace, however, was a party peace, like the Treaty of Utrecht, and as a result Great Britain did not make the best bargain possible. Certain West Indian islands were restored to the French, who received also a number of factories in India and a share of the Newfoundland fisheries. The latter were important as the training place of French sailors.

57. The War of American Independence (1774-1783).—The war with the American colonies followed as an inevitable result of the conquest of Canada. The idea of independence did not arise suddenly because of quarrels with the Mother Country over the question of taxation: by their very action in founding colonies, they had shown their independence of view. The chief reason for the adherence of the colonists to England was their fear of the French: they were ever in danger of French attacks from Canada and Louisiana, and the colonists relied upon Great Britain for defence. The Peace of Paris in 1763 gave Canada to Great Britain, and therefore, since there was no further danger from the French, the most potent reason for the continuance of intimate relations with Great Britain was removed.

The *causes* of the war were:—

1. There was no need after 1763 for British protection against the French.

2. Commercial restrictions were imposed on the colonies, which were considered to exist solely for the benefit of British trade. This theory led to the application of the Navigation Acts to America, compelling the colonists to export all their goods in English ships and to import European goods only through England. Contraband trade grew up between the New England States and the French and Spanish colonies. Walpole wisely ignored this trade, but Grenville, a man of peculiarly narrow outlook, determined not only to stop smuggling, but also to levy internal taxes to defray the cost of the wars which were fought against the French in defence of the colonies.

3. The colonists disputed the right to levy internal taxes, although they readily admitted the claim of the British Parliament to levy external taxes, such as custom dues. Therefore the colonists accepted Grenville's regulations regarding smuggling, but resisted the claims put forward by the British Parliament to impose internal taxes. These claims may be summarised as follows:—

1765. *The Stamp Act*—to raise a revenue of £100,000 a year from the sale of stamps on legal documents. Riots took place in Boston, and the Assembly of Virginia and the Congress of New York denied the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonies without their consent.

1766. The Stamp Act was repealed, but the *Declaratory Act* was passed, declaring that Parliament had the right to make laws which should apply to America.

1767. Charles Townshend put duties on tea, paper, glass, and painters' colours. The resulting revenue of £40,000 was to be used for the cost of the government and the defence of the colonies.

1770. North repealed all duties, except that on tea, which was retained at the king's wish, although producing only £300. The retention of this tax involved an impor-

tant principle, and it resulted in the "Boston Massacre," where three colonists were killed in an encounter with British soldiers, and in the "Boston Teaparty," 1773, when three hundred and forty chests of Indian tea were emptied into the harbour by young colonists disguised as Red Indians.

1774. The British Government in reply passed—

(a) The *Boston Port Act*, closing the port of Boston.

(b) The *Massachusetts Government Act*, which cancelled the charter of Massachusetts.

(c) The *Quebec Act*, which extended the borders of Canada, granted religious toleration to Catholics, and provided that French civil and English criminal law should be established.

1774. The Congress of Philadelphia, fearing that other charters would be cancelled, denied the right of the British Parliament to tax for a revenue, and condemned the penal acts passed against Massachusetts.

Efforts were made by moderate men on both sides to bring about a compromise, but in 1775, at the Second Congress of Philadelphia, the seizure of the Fort of Ticonderoga by American troops was approved, and this amounted to a declaration of war. The same Congress adopted the name of the United Colonies, and appointed George Washington as Commander-in-chief.

58. Course of the War.

(a) 1775—1778. *To Saratoga.*

1775. (i) The Americans gained an initial success by the defeat of the British troops under Gage, at Lexington.

(ii) The Americans, however, were defeated at Bunker's Hill in their attempt to besiege Boston.

(iii) The Americans, expecting that the Canadians would be ready to revolt, invaded Canada. Montgomery captured Montreal, but was slain in his attempt to capture Quebec,

which was saved by Sir Guy Carleton. Canada remained loyal on account of the Quebec Act.

1776. (i) The Declaration of Independence was issued July 4th, renouncing all political connection with England.

(ii) Howe, who succeeded Gage, defeated Washington and occupied New York, which was strongly royalist and became the British headquarters. Howe failed to follow up this success: he wasted time in New York, while Washington, by victories at Trenton and Princetown (1777), recovered New Jersey.

1777. After further delay, Howe conceived the plan of sending Burgoyne from Canada along Lake Champlain to join a force under Clinton on the Hudson, thus cutting off the north-east states from the rest of the colonies. This plan failed because Howe, after defeating Washington at Brandywine, and capturing Philadelphia, failed to crush Washington and to join Burgoyne. Clinton, who was in command at New York, had not enough troops to enable him to leave that city and join Burgoyne. As a result of this mismanagement, Burgoyne, after capturing Ticonderoga, was forced to submit to Gates at Saratoga. This was the turning-point of the war.

(b) 1778—1783. *Entry of European Powers.*

1778. France entered the war on the side of the colonists, to avenge the losses of the Seven Years' War. French ports offered refuge to American privateers, whilst French officers drilled the Americans. Arms and money were sent from France.

1779. Spain declared war on Great Britain, owing to her desire to regain Gibraltar.

1780. (i) Great Britain declared war on Holland, because that country supplied naval stores to the Americans and opened her harbours in the Dutch West Indies to American pirates.

(ii) Russia formed the Armed Neutrality of the North, (Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Prussia, France, Spain, and Russia), which resisted British claims to search neutral vessels.

Result.—England lost command of the seas for a time, in spite of Rodney's victory over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent (1780): the British navy was in a bad condition on account of the waste of public money voted for the navy.

1781. Cornwallis was forced to surrender at Yorktown, because the British had lost command of the seas, and therefore he could not effect a junction by sea with Clinton.

After the capitulation of Yorktown, the war became a naval struggle against France.

1782. (i) The French captured all the English possessions in the West Indies, except Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua. Minorca was also captured by the combined French and Spanish fleets.

(ii) Rodney defeated De Grasse, the French admiral, at the "Battle of the Saints," near Dominica. At this battle the tactics of "breaking the line" were adopted, and the French fleet was annihilated.

(iii) Gibraltar, which had been besieged since 1779, was relieved by Lord Howe.

1783. All sides were ready for peace: France and Spain were exhausted financially; the American troops were tired of war, and disgusted with the quarrels among their leaders.

The Treaty of Versailles—

1. Recognised the independence of the United States, and fixed the Mississippi and the Great Lakes as their western boundary.

2. Restored Minorca and Florida to Spain.

3. Gave St. Lucia, Tobago, and Senegal to France.

4. Gave the Bahamas to Great Britain.

5. Holland agreed to the mutual restoration of conquests.

59. The French Revolution.—The loss of the American colonies taught Great Britain to adopt a more considerate policy towards her colonies: it marks the beginning of a new colonial system. The loss also influenced the history of France by encouraging revolutionary ideas and increasing the debts of France, which in 1783 was rapidly approaching a state of bankruptcy. The crisis in France came in 1789, when Louis XVI. summoned the States-General, which had not met since 1614.

At first England sympathised with the aims of the Revolution; but the excesses of that movement changed that sympathy into horror. Pitt was forced in self-defence to enter on a war with the French, who had in 1793 executed Louis XVI., occupied the Netherlands, and opened up the Scheldt. The Edict of Fraternity offered assistance to all peoples desirous of obtaining their freedom. When Pitt remonstrated with France regarding French aggression in the Netherlands, France replied by declaring war on England and Holland.

It is unnecessary in this section to attempt to give a detailed account of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Many of the campaigns of those wars belong exclusively to European politics: it is necessary to give only a brief sketch of those campaigns which directly affected Great Britain and British dominions.

The *First Coalition*, consisting of Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Austria, and Prussia, was formed in 1793, but it was gradually broken up by the French victories on land, and after 1797 Great Britain was left alone to continue her struggle against France.

The brilliant victories of the British fleet at St. Vincent and Camperdown in 1797 made an invasion of England

impossible, while Nelson's destruction of the French fleet at the Battle of the Nile gave Great Britain the command of the Mediterranean, and for a time put an end to Napoleon's ambitions in the East. It became clear that France could not win on the seas, nor Great Britain on land: a temporary peace was made at Amiens in 1802, which lasted for less than a year. During this time, however, Napoleon reorganised French resources, and in 1803, he resumed his crusade against Great Britain.

Napoleon's plan was to invade England, but the defeat of the British fleet was the first essential. Therefore, he arranged that the Toulon fleet, in conjunction with the Spanish fleet, should sail away towards the West Indies to draw off Nelson: and then, returning quickly, should join the Brest fleet and convey the French army across the Channel. This design was frustrated by Calder's victory over Villeneuve at Finisterre, and Nelson's victory at Trafalgar in 1805.

Napoleon, finding the invasion of England to be impossible, next endeavoured to ruin her trade. He had deprived Great Britain of her continental allies by his victories on land: in 1806 he issued his *Berlin Decrees*, which declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbade the allies of France (Prussia, Holland, Spain, Italy, and Russia) to trade with those islands. This policy was of course intended to ruin Great Britain, but, instead, it played a large part in Napoleon's downfall. Portugal refused to accept this continental system, and this caused the Peninsular War: in 1812 Alexander of Russia refused to enforce the decrees, and thereupon Napoleon invaded Russia and reached Moscow, but during his disastrous retreat his grand army was annihilated.

This was the beginning of the end: Napoleon could not successfully withstand the Fourth Coalition (Prussia,

Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Great Britain). France was invaded, Paris taken, and Napoleon banished to Elba. His last effort during the "hundred days" was destined to failure, and, as a result of Wellington's victory at Waterloo, Europe was freed from a military despotism and Great Britain had removed from her path the most difficult obstacle on her road to Empire.

Great Britain gained Malta and Heligoland in Europe as well as the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Mauritius, and a number of West Indian Islands. During the conflict, Great Britain absorbed the carrying-trade of the world, and during the nineteenth century she was free to consolidate her empire.

60. The Great War (1914-1918).—The European War may be regarded, from one point of view, as a struggle for Empire: the commercial and colonial supremacy of the British Isles was challenged by Germany, and as a result of the war, the colonial situation has been changed. At the peace, Germany renounced in favour of the Allied Powers all her colonial possessions, with all rights and titles thereto.

Mandates for the administration of these colonies have been given to the various Allies, including the British Dominions, whose armies took an important part in conquering German territories in Africa and in the Pacific.

Great Britain received the mandates for German East Africa, and the Pacific Island of Nauru. The mandate for German South-West Africa was given to the Union of South Africa: for the German Samoan Islands, to New Zealand: and for the other Pacific possessions of Germany, to Australia.

Togoland is shared between the Gold Coast and Dahomey. Egypt and Cyprus have been annexed by Great Britain.

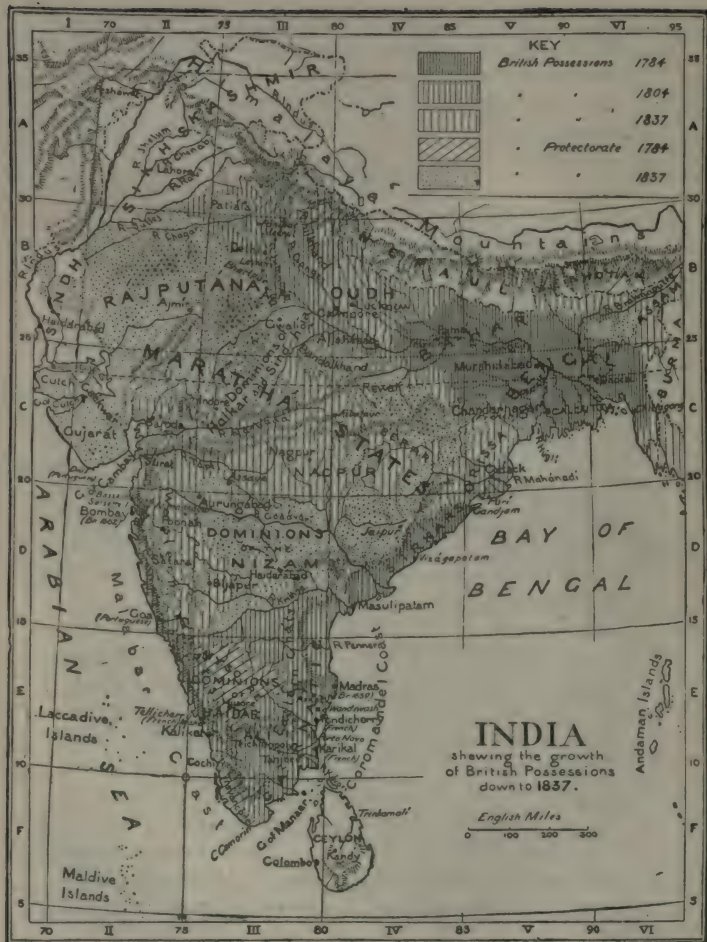
CHAPTER V.

BRITISH INDIA AND CEYLON.

A.—INDIA.

61. The Mogul Empire.—The history of India stretches back hundreds of years before the Christian era, but it was only during the sixteenth century that India was brought into direct relationship with Europe. Surrounded on two sides by the sea, and bounded on the north by the almost impassable barrier of the Himalayas, it seemed as if India was secure from invasion for all time. But India is vulnerable at one point in the Himalayas, and through the Khyber Pass there were successive waves of invasion from century to century.

Chief amongst these was the coming of Mahmoud in 1001 A.D. He was a Turk by birth and a Muhammadan by religion and conceived the idea of converting all India to Islam. For five centuries he and his successors pursued this task of winning India for the Muhammadan faith. The invasion of Baber in 1524 laid the foundations of the Mogul Empire, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the rule of the Great Moguls, centred at Delhi, extended over the whole of Northern India. The Dekkan, however remained unconquered until the time of Aurangzib (1659-1707), who in 1683 extended his power over the whole of India.



The Mogul Empire was at the height of its power during the time of Aurangzib: at his death the Mogul Empire broke up. Its Nawabs set up as independent princes, and the Mahrattas established their rule over the greater part of Western and Central India, whilst in the north the Afghans swarmed into the Punjab, and in 1739, led by Nadir Shah, they sacked Delhi. Thus after the death of Aurangzib in 1707, there was confusion in India, and in self-defence the English, French, and Dutch were forced to become military powers.

62. The British and French in India.—British factories had been established at Fort William, Madras, and Bombay; the French factories were at Pondicherry and Chandernagore. These were purely trading settlements at first, but on account of the rivalry between the two nations, they became the centres of political power.

Dupleix had ambitious schemes in Southern India, and secured a success over the British by the capture of Madras in 1746, in which he was aided by the French fleet under Labourdonnais. Thinking that the trade with India was unprofitable, he turned his attention to empire. He saw the weakness of the native states after the death of the Great Mogul, and realised the superiority of even a small disciplined army over the large but untrained native armies.

The British did not adopt a similar policy until after the arrival of Clive, and Dupleix had in the meantime made French power supreme in Southern India. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, which concluded the War of the Austrian Succession, Madras was restored to the British: but this peace proved to be but the prelude to a greater struggle which ended with the final overthrow of French influence in India. This was the state of affairs in India when Clive arrived in that country in 1744.

63. Robert Clive was born in 1725, and in 1744 arrived at Madras as a writer in the service of the East India Company. In 1746 he entered the military service of the Company on the outbreak of war with France. His work in India may be divided into several periods:—

(a) *His struggle against Dupleix* (1748-54).—Dupleix, in order to further his schemes of French domination in India, sought to take advantage of the disputed succession to the throne of Hyderabad, whose Nizam died in 1748. At the same time there were rival claimants for the throne of the Carnatic. Thus Dupleix had a unique opportunity of placing French nominees on the thrones of Southern and Central India. Dupleix thus showed a mixture of audacity and craft, in which he was helped by his wife, who was born and bred in India, and was well acquainted with Indian methods. He managed to get his nominee made Nizam: Dupleix himself was appointed Governor for the Great Mogul of all countries south of the River Kistna, and thus in 1751 the French were at the height of their power.

The British were bewildered at these successes, yet they hesitated to act, on account of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Clive alone realised the situation and saw that the future of British power in India depended on who succeeded to the throne of the Carnatic—the British nominee Mahomet Ali, or the French nominee, Chunder Sahib. If the latter were successful, the British would probably be swept out of Southern India.

Mahomet Ali was besieged in Trichinopoli, and in order to save this town by forcing the French to divide their forces, Clive attacked and captured Arcot in 1751. After this success, he was joined by many natives who were merely waiting to see which was the stronger side. The combined forces captured Trichinopoli.

Dupleix was recalled in 1754. His plans were looked upon by the French Government as being purely for self-aggrandisement, and objection was made to the expense of such a policy. His successors were not so capable or far-seeing as he had been, although they were brave soldiers and did something temporarily to revive the fortunes of the French in Central and Southern India. In Central India, Bussy was the power behind the Nizam, who ceded to the French the Northern Circars on the Coromandel coast.

(b) *Clive in Bengal*.—The British had established a factory at Calcutta, and knew more of the interior of Bengal than they did of the interior of Southern India because of the Ganges and the great roads of Hindustan. They had established factories at Cossimbazar, Dacca, and Patna. There was a governor at Calcutta, with a council for administrative purposes, and a British officer (called a Zemindar) collected revenue, out of which rent was paid to the Great Mogul. The British had close at hand French neighbours at Chandernagore.

In 1756 Siraj-ud-daula succeeded to the throne of Bengal: he at once adopted a hostile policy towards the British, whose power he feared. The causes of his hostility were:—

(1) The reports that the fortifications of Calcutta had been strengthened.

(2) The rumour that another claimant to Bengal was being sheltered in Calcutta.

To the demands that the new fortifications should be demolished, the British replied that none had been erected: that only a line of guns had been repaired to prevent the French capturing Calcutta, as they had captured Madras.

Siraj-ud-daula was furious that the British should even suggest fighting the French in his territory. He attacked

the English factory at Cossimbazar, and marched on Calcutta with a large army. The defences were bad: only 170 European soldiers were there, and instead of defending only Fort William, they tried to defend the whole city, which was taken by mere force of numbers. Upon the approach of Siraj-ud-daula to the city, the Governor and many others fled; the fort surrendered, and its defenders, numbering 146, were confined in the military prison. This "Black Hole" was eighteen feet square, and had two small windows. The time of the year was June, and the prisoners were driven in at the point of the sword. Bribes failed to move the gaolers, and only 23 prisoners came out alive. This atrocity was due to the disappointment of the soldiers at the small amount of money found in the treasury, and not to Siraj-ud-daula himself, who was some miles away.

Admiral Watson and Clive, who had only just arrived at Madras, after a period of rest in England, left Madras with a fleet and army, and recaptured Calcutta in January 1757. Siraj-ud-daula was alarmed, since he never expected the British to return. He marched towards Calcutta with an army, but professed a desire for peace and offered compensation. Clive also desired peace with Siraj-ud-daula, in order to fight the French. A treaty was drawn up, and profuse promises were made by Siraj-ud-daula, who was only gaining time in order to obtain French help.

Bussy was asked to march from the Dekkan and drive out the British, who were forbidden by Siraj-ud-daula to attack Chandernagore. In spite of this, however, Clive and Watson attacked the French at Chandernagore, and the Nawab was the first to congratulate them on their success. Yet Siraj-ud-daula continued to harbour French refugees, and to threaten the British position by a force posted at Plassey under Mir Jafar.

Mir Jafar conspired against Siraj-ud-daula. He arranged that Clive should march an army to Plassey, and then he would desert to the British side, bringing a large force over with him. In return, Siraj-ud-daula was to be dethroned, and Mir Jafar put in his place. These arrangements were carried out: Siraj-ud-daula fled from the field, while Clive went to Murshedabad, and there placed Mir Jafar on the throne. The latter had no power over the native grandees: he had no administrative ability, and was nicknamed "Clive's Jackass." The result of the battle of Plassey was that the British ceased to be supplicants for trading privileges and became lords and masters to be obeyed.

(c) *Clive in the Carnatic*.—A French fleet and army under Lally arrived at Pondicherry in 1759, and succeeded in capturing Fort St. David. After this success, Lally summoned Bussy from the Dekkan to help him to recapture Madras. After some success by the French, an English fleet arrived off Madras, and Lally was forced to raise the siege. In 1760 he was defeated by the British under Eyre Coote at Wandewash, whilst in 1761 Pondicherry fell into British hands. Lally was recalled to France and sacrificed to save the French ministers.

Thus Clive put an end to the power of the French in Southern India. He returned to England in 1760, and on account of the unsettled state of Bengal, which was threatened by the Mahrattas and Afghans, he demanded a permanent European force, and proposed to Pitt that Great Britain should take the possession of Bengal out of the hands of the Company. Clive pointed out that the Great Mogul would readily grant the land to any country that would pay rent for it: he maintained that at least one million pounds profit could be made by Great Britain even after the payment of rent to the Mogul and after counting the cost of a

military force. Pitt, however, feared that the acquisition of Bengal would make the British Crown too powerful, and so endanger the liberties of the British people.

(d) *Administrative Reforms*.—From 1760 to 1765 Clive was absent in England, and during this period two main features mark Indian history.

Firstly, the government of Mir Jafar was incapable: Mir Jafar himself intrigued against the Company to whom he owed his support. Bengal was repeatedly attacked by Shahzada, the exiled son of the Mogul, and by the Mahrattas. The Company blamed Mir Jafar himself, and resolved to dethrone him and to set up in his place his son-in-law, Mir Kasim.

A second feature of this period was the gross corruption of the Company's officials, who engaged in private trade. The British traders, since they were free from duty, were able to undersell the natives. Mir Kasim, realising this inequality, abolished in 1763 all duties, thus placing British and natives on the same footing. The British Council at Calcutta opposed this, and Mir Kasim prepared to fight. The British residents at Patna were massacred by Mir Kasim, and, as a result, he was driven out of Bengal, and Mir Jafar was reinstated. Mir Kasim, who had allied with the Nawab of Oudh, was defeated in 1764 at the Battle of Buxar: as a result of this battle the British were supreme in Bengal and Oudh.

In 1765 Clive returned to India, his task being to put down the anarchy of Bengal. He therefore set up a system of Dual Control, by which the natives had a great part in the government, but the Company, who appointed native agents, looked after the financial administration of the province. The Company was granted by the Great Mogul the right of collecting taxes, which was done by the native officials. This system lent itself to

abuses by the Company's servants, and the Dual System of government failed. Private trade increased, peasants were oppressed. Yet, in spite of this profiteering, the Company was on the verge of bankruptcy in 1770, and had to ask to be excused the payment of its annual contribution to the British Government of £400,000. Its resources were further weakened by the Mysore War in 1768 to protect the Carnatic, and by the famine of 1770. In 1772 Clive returned to England, and was succeeded by a man of immense power and courage, Warren Hastings.

64. Warren Hastings (1732-1818) became a clerk in the service of the Company in 1750, and a member of the Council of Madras in 1769. In 1772 he was appointed the first Governor of Bengal, after the departure of Clive. His position was one of great difficulty, owing to the interference of the directors at home, the demand for high dividends, divisions in the Council, distress in India, and the cost of the wars. The Company was in an unsound financial position, its servants were demoralised, and its relations with native states were unsatisfactory. It was for the genius of Warren Hastings to save the Company from these evils, and effectively to establish British rule in India. His work may be considered in two sections:—

(a) *As Governor of Bengal* (1772-1776).—Hastings abolished the Dual System of government set up by Clive, and reorganised the whole system of revenue collection and the administration of justice. As regards revenue collection, he made a new assessment, fixing the sum to be paid by each district for five years, so as to give security; he removed the headquarters for taxation and administration from Murshedabad to Calcutta, where he placed both under the immediate control of the Council. In order to minimise the evils of private trade, District Boards were set up and made responsible for the collection

of taxes. These Boards undertook revenue work and civil jurisdiction, but were subject to the Supreme Council at Calcutta. Hastings maintained that the abuses and corruption were the results of a bad system, and that under a better system these abuses would disappear. The root of the evil was that the Company paid its officials only nominal salaries, and therefore they turned to private trade.

As regards judicial reforms, Hastings tried to retain as far as possible Indian customs: he established supreme courts for civil and criminal cases at Calcutta; provincial courts were set up in various parts of Bengal. Justice was made cheaper and more easy to obtain than before, and for the first time Bengal possessed a pure system of justice.

As regards his relations with the rest of India during this period, Hastings refused in 1771 to continue the payment of tribute to the Mogul, who was at this time the puppet of the Mahrattas, to whom the tribute would go to increase their coffers. When the Mahrattas claimed to occupy Allahabad and Kora as a grant from the Mogul, Hastings sold these lands to the Nawab of Oudh, with whom he made a new treaty which made Oudh a vassal state. This is only one example of a large number of similar treaties by which other states were made dependent on the Company. The treaty with Oudh strengthened that province against the Mahrattas, and in 1774 British troops were lent to the Nawab of Oudh to help him to crush the Afghan Rohillas. When the new Act of 1773 came into force, the Company's rule was firmly established in Bengal.

Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 represents the first assumption of control over East Indian affairs by the British Government. Its aim was to keep the East India Company directly responsible for the government of India,

but to give the British Parliament a supervisory control. It stated that the Governor of Bengal should become the Governor-General of India, with an advisory Council of Four. A supreme Court of Jurisdiction was set up, to consist of four British judges, who were to administer English law. The Act fixed the salaries of the Governor-General and the judges, and forbade them to trade or receive presents.

(b) *As Governor - General of India (1776-1785).*—Hastings had, first of all, conflicts with his Council of Four, who were entirely ignorant of Indian affairs, and who regarded him as a tyrant who must be opposed. They blundered, and disregarded his advice in dealing with Oudh and the Mahrattas: they undid his work in Bengal by restoring the old Dual System, and by making the system of justice ineffective: they violently impugned Hastings himself. Yet in spite of all these obstacles, Hastings stuck to his task of working for the good of Bengal. The death of Colonel Monson, a member of his Council, in 1776, enabled Hastings, by the use of his casting vote, to over-rule his Council whenever necessary as the vacancy was not filled.

Hastings sought to strengthen and revise his government: he continued to purify the services of the Company, and defined the power of the separate judicial and financial courts. He successfully struggled against the combination of native powers supported by the French, at a time when England was engaged in a conflict with the American colonies. He engaged in wars against the Mahrattas (1777-1780) and against Hyder Ali of Mysore, who in 1780, supported by the French and encouraged by the English difficulties in America, attacked Madras. In order to meet the cost of these wars, Hastings seized the treasure of the Begums (or

Princesses) of Oudh, which the Council had wrongfully given up, and exacted large contributions from the Rajah of Benares, whom later he deposed and exiled.

Meanwhile there was a growing feeling in England against Hastings, who returned home in 1785, and three years later was impeached. The charges against him were (*a*) that he lent an English army to the Nawab of Oudh for the reduction of the Rohillas, (*b*) that he fined and afterwards deposed the Rajah of Benares, (*c*) that he had robbed the Begums of Oudh. The case against him was conducted by Burke and Sheridan, and after a trial lasting seven years, Hastings was acquitted on April 23rd, 1795.

It may be pointed out here that Macaulay's unfavourable criticism of Hastings' work has been reversed by modern research. Hastings was a great organiser and administrator, and gave firm government to Bengal, which he made a secure possession with Oudh as a friendly dependency. He saw that English customs could not be transferred from London to Calcutta: if British rule was to succeed, Indian law and customs must be the basis of power and organisation. Even in his own time Hastings received some acknowledgment of his greatness. When he gave evidence before the House of Commons, which was just beginning to understand Indian government, every member rose and stood uncovered as Hastings entered: this to some extent was a compensation for previous lack of appreciation.

One result of the impeachment was that it gave a prominence to Indian affairs unknown before. The Act of 1773 failed because of the unworkable relations between the Governor-General and his Council. Fox's India Bill in 1783, which was strongly supported by Burke, proposed to abolish the Company as a political

power, and to replace it by a commission set up by, and responsible to, Parliament. This Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords, partly on account of the influence of the King, partly because of commercial rivalry, and partly because it was believed that the Whigs desired to use the wealth of India for party purposes. In 1784 Pitt's India Bill was used as a compromise: it left political power in the hands of the Company, but set up a Board of Control to supervise. This was presided over by one of the Secretaries of State, but in 1793 a specially salaried President was appointed. This Act of 1784, which maintained the system of dual government, remained the basis of English rule in India until 1858. The Board of Control had the last word in the policy of India, and whilst it left the actual appointment of officials to the Company, it reserved the right of recalling any one of them. The Council of the Governor was reduced to three, so that by the use of his casting vote, the Governor could predominate if he had one supporter. The Act forbade the extension of dominion in India, although this proved impossible.

65. Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) was the first Governor-General under the Act of 1784. He had to deal with three problems:—

(a) He was expected, according to the terms of the Act of 1784, to maintain a policy of *non-intervention* in Indian affairs. This proved to be impossible, for during his administration, Tipu of Mysore attacked a vassal state of the Company; Cornwallis made alliances with the Mahrattas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. Being successful, this triple alliance was continued, and the lands of Mysore were divided, England obtaining the western seaboard. That non-intervention was an impossible policy was again illustrated in 1795, when Governor-General

Shore refused to intervene to protect the Nizam from the Mahrattas: as a result the Mahrattas were successful and became a distinct menace.

(b) *The permanent Settlement of Bengal.*—In India at least three-quarters of the population were peasants and were extremely poor. Their taxable powers were not very high, and the adjustment of the land tax during Hastings' rule was regarded as the chief source of misgovernment. The land revenues were collected by the Zemindars, who were hereditary native tax-gatherers. In spite of the advice of a Commission that the Zemindars should be secured in the control of their land for ten years at a fixed rate, with a view to encouraging them to develop their lands whilst maintaining the right of ownership for the Government, Cornwallis, who was influenced by the English view that a strong body of landowners gave strength to a country, insisted that the Zemindars were not merely revenue collectors but landowners. Thus the Ten Years' Settlement became a permanent settlement, and the increase in the value of land due to its development, went to private interests.

(c) *Administrative Reforms.*—These included the institution of adequate salaries for the Company's servants; the reform of the judicial system with regard to criminals was placed under British control: local courts were also set up. Sir John Shore, who succeeded Cornwallis for three years, continued the same policy.

66. Marquess Wellesley (1798-1805) became Governor-General of India in 1798, and during his rule the British Empire in India became a British Empire in reality. It has already been shown that the clause in the Act of 1784 forbidding schemes of

conquest was unworkable : if the British power did not extend its influence in India, it was clear that it would be destroyed. To extend British influence was the only method of self-defence. When Wellesley arrived in India in 1798, French influence was making itself felt. Bonaparte, in his Eastern ambitions, was already trying to make the French masters of Egypt. In order to overcome the schemes of the French, Wellesley adopted the policy of "subsidiary treaties," by which protectorate treaties were made with native states. This is seen in several spheres:—

(a) *In Mysore*, Tipu refused to sign a subsidiary treaty, and had the support of Bonaparte who was in Egypt, as a first step towards his designs on India. The lack of sea-power, however, frustrated Napoleon's designs, which were shattered by Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile. Wellesley, upon the refusal of Tipu to enter into a British alliance and to abandon his relations with France, declared war, and English troops under General Harris attacked and captured Seringapatam, where Tipu was slain. Wellesley decided to maintain Mysore as a separate power, placing over it a native rajah, but to put the defence of that country in the hands of the English: to defray the cost of this, a piece of land was ceded by the rajah to the Company.

(b) *In Hyderabad*, the Nizam, who was ever in danger from the Mahrattas, in 1800 made a treaty with Wellesley, by which he agreed to disband his own army, which consisted largely of French soldiers; eight battalions of British sepoys took their place, the cost being defrayed by the cession of territory by the Nizam.

(c) *In the Carnatic*, the dependent Nawab had long been a creature of intrigue and of incompetent government. A disputed succession provided an opportunity for British

interference, and in 1800 Madras took over the full rule of the Carnatic and Tanjore.

(d) *In Oudh*, the internal condition was bad: the Nawab was incompetent; his army was a mere mob. Wellesley in 1801 made an arrangement by which the Nawab disbanded his troops, which were replaced by an English force; this, as usual, being paid for by the surrender of land. The Nawab undertook to bring about internal reform, whilst his lands were secured from foreign attack.

(e) *The Mahrattas* were a distinct race in India, with a language of their own, although, like the vast majority of the population of India, they were Hindus in religion. They spread over Western and Central India, although their headquarters were in Peshwa, the country behind Bombay. There they had established their empire, and aimed at succeeding the Great Mogul Empire, which broke up after 1707. They had reduced large areas of Central and Northern India to their sway: the rulers of the Ganges valley had to pay them "chauth"—a kind of blackmail. In 1771 they got control of Delhi, and the Mogul became a mere puppet in their hands. Their only remaining obstacle was the English Company: but the great weakness of the Mahrattan rule was that it lacked central control. The greater their empire grew in area, the more independent became their chiefs. The head of the confederation was the Peshwa, whose capital was Poona: his nominal dependents were the Gaekwar of Baroda, the tribes of Sindhia and Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar.

Wellesley sought to break up this confederacy by treating it as if each member were independent and separate. Circumstances favoured this policy. In 1802 the Peshwa, in order to save his life, took refuge on board

a vessel of the East India Company. As a result the Treaty of Bassein was signed in 1802, by which the Peshwa and also the Gaekwar of Baroda accepted English protection, and surrendered territories on the Tapti and Nerbudda rivers.

The other members of the confederacy realised that this was the first step towards breaking up their unity : as a result war followed, first against Sindhia and Berar, and later against Holkar. The campaign of the Marquess' brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley, in the Dekkan was only of six months' duration, but was marked by a brilliant victory at Assaye (1803). In Hindustan, General Lake was successful over the French sepoys, and entered Delhi : he also captured Agra, the capital of Sindhia, and by a decisive victory at Laswarri, compelled Sindhia to accept British protection.

By these victories Delhi with its Mogul passed under British rule, land also being ceded. The Rajah of Berar gave up Orissa, and he also accepted British protection. Thus for the first time Great Britain was recognised as the supreme power in Northern and Central India. Yet one Mahrattan leader, Holkar, stood out and declared war on the Company. This war with Holkar lasted from 1804 to 1806. Delhi was successfully defended by its British garrison, and in 1806 Holkar submitted.

Before this took place Wellesley had been recalled by the Company's Directors, who were alarmed at his schemes of conquest. The subjugation of the Mahrattas was, therefore, not entirely completed by Wellesley, and it had to be taken up by the Marquess of Hastings. Yet in eight years, Wellesley had made the domination in India of the Mahrattas impossible, and it was now clear that the true successor of the Mogul Empire and the paramount power in India was the English Company.

A period of reaction followed the recall of Wellesley :

his successors were given strict orders to make no further acquisition of territory, and to assume no further responsibilities regarding native states. Lord Minto, who went to India in 1807, obeyed these orders as far as he could: yet he sent an expedition to conquer Java from the Dutch, and in order to defend the north-west frontier against a possible Franco-Russian land attack on India, he extended British influence to the North-West States. His rule (1807-1813) was one of tranquillity, during which the vast new provinces acquired by Wellesley were organised.

67. Lord Hastings went to Bengal in 1813, and he finally reduced the Mahrattas. He was a friend of Warren Hastings, and had learned much from him. In spite of the fact that he had resolved to enter on no wars, two were forced on him. One was against the Gurkhas of Nepal, who had raided every year the defenceless inhabitants of the Ganges plain. In 1815 Nepal was compelled to sue for peace, and land was ceded round about Simla, and also a region extending to the river Sutlej.

The second war was against the Pindars, who had succeeded the Mahrattas as the plunderers of Central India. Lord Hastings determined to rid India of these, and destroyed various bands of them. But in 1817 the Peshwa rose in rebellion and formed a Mahrattan confederacy against the Company. He was soon overcome, his office was abolished, and his dominions annexed to the Bombay Presidency. Wellesley's policy of bringing the Mahrattas under control was now finally completed. The transition from the trading power to the sovereign power was made in fact if not in form, since the Company had become the supreme power throughout India. Lord Hastings raised the standard of the administration: he was the first to attempt to organise native education by

the creation of schools: he made free the Anglo-Indian Press, and encouraged native newspapers.

68. Lord Amherst (1823-1828), who succeeded Hastings, was forced to adopt a policy of annexation in a new quarter. In 1824, the King of Burma declared war on the Company, after having in 1818 demanded from Lord Hastings one-half of Bengal. Amherst planned three campaigns—against Rangoon by sea, against Assam by river, and against Arakan by land. The failure of the Burmese, who had under-rated the strength of the Company, led to the annexation of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim.

69. Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835) became Governor in 1828, and during his rule the wider conceptions of the Company's responsibility for the rule of India became operative. The ideal now was that British greatness in India must be founded on Indian happiness. While the aim was to cherish all that was best in Indian civilisation, yet a new effort was made to introduce into India the best results of Western civilisation. Bentinck had this conception, and it is seen in his relation with Mysore, where the Rajah proved incompetent and unworthy. The English Company, which was responsible for the security of the throne, refused to maintain the Rajah at the expense of the inhabitants: consequently he was deposed, and the government of Mysore was placed in the hands of English Commissioners, who soon restored order and prosperity to the province. This scheme of government lasted until 1881, when a native prince was restored. This action illustrates the policy of the British in making the well-being of the governed their first consideration in India.

During the rule of Bentinck, a large number of internal reforms were accomplished. In 1829 the suttee (*i.e.* the

custom of burning widows on their husbands' funeral pyres) was abolished. This would have been done away with previously but for the fear that such an action would cause the hostility of the native sepoys. The Thugs, who worshipped the god of Destruction, and therefore regarded murder as a religious rite, were also put down by Bentinck.

He selected natives for judicial and civil service appointments: he promoted the cause of education, especially in the realm of medicine: he gave still fuller freedom to the Indian Press, and in 1835 English became the official language and the vehicle of instruction. In 1833 an Act of Parliament forbade the East India Company to engage in trade at all, and thus was removed the chief cause of trouble in the past, the association of government and profit-making. The nature of Bentinck's work for India is shown by Macaulay's inscription on Bentinck's statue at Calcutta—"He infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom."

70. The North-West Frontier was the chief interest between 1835 and 1848. Before 1835, the frontier extended only as far as the rivers Sutlej and Indus. Beyond lay the fertile region of the Punjab, and the desert of Sind, whilst in the far background stood the great mountains, the natural boundaries of India. Partly on account of a fear of a Russian advance upon India through Central Asia, and partly on account of the conditions of the provinces beyond the Indus, the Company resolved to get control of Afghanistan in spite of their declared policy not to assume further territorial responsibilities.

Sind was important because, as it contained the delta of the Indus, it was the natural outlet of the commerce of North-West India, and also because the easiest passes

through the mountains were approached by crossing Sind.

Afghanistan was important because it controlled the mountain passes into India. But the Afghan kingdom had broken up; its ruler was in exile in India, whilst the throne was occupied by a usurper, Dost Mahomet, who had no power outside the town of Kabul itself.

In 1837 Lord Auckland put forward Shah Shuja in opposition to Dost Mahomet, who fled, leaving his rival to be crowned in Kabul: a British Governor and an army was provided. But the loyalty of the Afghans was not won, and in 1839 Shah Shuja was driven from the throne and many Englishmen murdered. The British garrison retreated, but was overtaken in the Khyber Pass, and only one survivor reached Jalalabad. After this disaster an English army under General Sale defeated the Afghans and reoccupied Kabul. Dost Mahomet was restored to the throne, but then Afghanistan was evacuated by the British.

Sind, after the above war, was annexed in 1848: a brief struggle took place, in which Sir Charles Napier defeated the Amir of Sind at Miani. This was the only act of aggression by the British in India: Sind was attacked in order to restore British prestige after the failure in Afghanistan.

The First Sikh War followed in 1845. The Sikhs were a religious sect of the Hindus, but their religion had become a fighting and conquering faith. Ranjut Singh, their leader, had established a Sikh kingdom in the Punjab, but he pursued a friendly policy towards England. When he died in 1839 this policy was abandoned. The Sikh army got out of hand, and it was necessary for the Company to maintain a large British force on the frontier. In 1845 the Sikhs invaded the British territory, relying on their power to conquer after the British failure

in Afghanistan. They were driven across the Sutlej, and their capital Lahore surrendered.

Still the British Government adhered to their policy of non-expansion. Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, in a speech to the Sikh chieftains, expressed the wish to see them "an independent and prosperous state." Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed as British Resident. This plan was a failure, and in 1848, during the absence of Lawrence, British officers were murdered by the Sikhs, who had been promised Afghan support.

As a result of the defeat of the Sikhs, the Punjab was annexed in 1849. The administration was placed in the hands of two brothers, Henry and John Lawrence, who, ably supported by Lord Dalhousie, settled the Punjab by making bridges, canals, and roads, disarming the Sikhs, setting up a judicial system, and facilitating the cultivation of wheat by irrigation. They also made an equitable land settlement, and reduced taxes. As a result of this brilliant administration, the Sikhs remained faithful during the Mutiny.

71. Lord Dalhousie, the "Second Founder of the British Empire in India," was Governor-General from 1848 to 1856, and his rule, in addition to being the final stage of the history of the East India Company, also marks the culmination of that history. Dalhousie was a man of outstanding ability, industry, and energy, and must be placed as an administrator side by side with Warren Hastings and Wellesley. He set himself to bring about a strong central government which should control the whole population, and which should put an end to dependent and misgoverned states. At the same time he sought to introduce western civilisation. The innovations introduced by Dalhousie went far beyond what the conservative people of India were prepared to

receive : as a result a feeling of unrest arose, and this was a contributory cause of the Mutiny of 1857. Yet in spite of this upheaval, the work of Dalhousie survived, and he laid the foundations of modern India. Dalhousie was mainly occupied with four questions :—

(a) *The Second Sikh War* (1848-9), which has been mentioned above. Dalhousie whole-heartedly supported the settlement of the Punjab by the brothers Lawrence.

(b) *The Second Burmese War* (1852), which was due to the disregard of the Burmese for treaties, and the grievances of British traders at Rangoon. Dalhousie sincerely opposed wars, but the refusal of the Burmese to redress grievances, together with their insolence, made war inevitable. A short expedition, noteworthy for the blocking of the Irrawadi, led to the annexation of Lower Burma, and placed the important port of Rangoon in British hands.

(c) *The Question of Protected States*.—Dalhousie had no sympathy for the policy, instituted by Wellesley, of “subsidiary alliances.” This system led to inefficient government, its fundamental defect being that it imposed no obligation of good rule upon the native princes. Dalhousie was in favour of outright annexation, and, had it been possible, he would have attempted to make this policy retrospective. His view was due to his burning zeal for good government, and was not shared by men like Lawrence, who considered that native states were good things in themselves, that such a system did not necessarily mean misgovernment, and that native states provided spheres of training for future Indian statesmen. History has confirmed the view of Lawrence rather than that of Dalhousie.

These views of Dalhousie led him to adopt measures which were responsible for the Mutiny. He brought

under British rule about 150,000 square miles of territory previously ruled by native princes. He persisted in the "Doctrine of Lapse," which maintained that, if the ruler of a State died leaving no direct heir, the State lapsed to the paramount power. Pursuing this policy, he annexed Nagpur, whose rajah had left no heir. Sattara was also annexed, and there Dalhousie refused to recognise the Hindu custom of adoption. For the same reason he cancelled pensions paid to dethroned princes: these huge pensions had been a severe drain upon the finances of India, and, although Dalhousie's policy might be defended, it left much bitterness, and produced a feeling of insecurity among the surviving princes. On account of the anarchy existing in Oudh, the Nawab, who by the treaty of 1801 depended on British support, was removed and the province annexed. This annexation contributed more directly than any other to the Mutiny.

(d) *Internal Reform*.—It is in this work that Dalhousie has the greatest claim to renown. He was the originator of the Indian railway system: he planned a trunk line from Calcutta to Delhi. He advanced works of irrigation, set up a telegraphic system, and instituted cheap postage. Education progressed greatly, and he was the initiator of Indian Universities. Dalhousie, more than any other man, was the founder of modern India. Worn out by his exertions, he returned to England in 1856, and died four years later. The criticism which can be fairly made of his policy is that he failed to allow for the conservatism of Oriental races.

72. The Indian Mutiny showed its symptoms early in 1857. There were various superstitions regarding the downfall of British power one hundred years after Plassey, and the policy of Dalhousie fomented this discontent. The violent changes in Oudh had been ill received: the enor-

mous wealth and prestige of the Mogul at Delhi was the centre of intrigue against the British power. Dispossessed rulers were ready to join hand in hand against the British, whose military forces were at this time weak because of the needs of the newly-annexed provinces, Punjab and Oudh. The Crimean War (1854-5) had lowered English prestige, whilst the natives believed that the British Government intended to force Christianity on the peoples of India. The greasing of cartridges with the fat of the cow was misinterpreted by the sepoys as the first step in the direction of making India Christian, since the cow was their sacred animal.

As a result of all these grievances, on May 10th, 1857, the native troops at Meerut broke out in open mutiny. They marched to Delhi, and placed themselves under the protection of the Mogul. This outbreak seems to have been premature, a united rising having probably been decided upon for a later date. The Mutiny was confined mainly to the native Army, and was limited in area to the Ganges valley, the chief centres being Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore. Bombay, Madras, and Lower Bengal were left untouched, whilst the Sikhs remained loyal to the British. The operations of the Mutiny consisted of sieges and guerilla warfare.

On the arrival of the mutineers at Delhi, the King of Delhi, who was a descendant of the Great Mogul, was proclaimed Emperor of India. A mutiny arose at Lucknow on May 30th, and here Sir Henry Lawrence fortified the residency, which held out for 87 days, despite the death of Sir Henry on July 2nd. In June, the Mutiny spread to Cawnpore, where the British surrendered after a siege of three weeks, on the promise of a safe conduct to Allahabad. In spite of this promise, men were murdered, and women and children imprisoned.

In order to check the Mutiny, General Havelock captured Cawnpore in July, whilst Delhi was taken by Nicholson in September. Havelock went from Cawnpore to Lucknow, which he captured, but he was afterwards besieged by the natives in the Residency. Lucknow was relieved by Sir Colin Campbell, but was not finally captured until 1858. The prompt measures taken by Lord Canning, the Governor-General, checked the spread of the Mutiny.

Results of the Mutiny.—The chief result of the Mutiny was the abolition of the East India Company. In August 1858 the English Government passed the India Act, by which—

1. The Crown assumed the administration of India, acting through a Principal Secretary of State, assisted by a Council of Fifteen: this Secretary was to be a member of the ministry and responsible to the English Sovereign.

2. The Governor-General was given the new title of Viceroy, and was to act under the instructions of the Secretary of State, and to be assisted in India by two Councils, one for executive purposes, the other for legislative.

This transfer of power involved less change than at first sight appears, for the Crown had been gradually obtaining more and more control over the Company's affairs. The British Government had already laid down the main rules of Indian government in the Acts of 1784 and 1833, among many others. The Company had been gradually deprived of its powers, until they had become little more than nominal. When the British Government in 1858 frankly acknowledged its responsibility for the good government of India, it was only putting in parliamentary form what in reality it had possessed and assumed for many years. A grand Durbar, or gathering of princes,

was held at Allahabad in November 1858, and Queen Victoria's sovereignty of India was proclaimed, promising toleration, equal justice, and a general amnesty to all except the actual murderers. It was not, however, until 1877 that the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India, a title which appealed to the imagination and historic sense of the people of India, since it declared the British Sovereign the inheritor of the dominion of the Great Mogul.

73. Modern India (1858-1919).—The history of India after 1858 has, generally speaking, followed the lines of the policy laid down by the great empire-builders before the Mutiny. More than twenty years of peace followed that upheaval.

The history of India after 1858 is not so satisfactorily treated under the viceroys as under separate subjects which were dealt with from time to time.

1. *Definition of Frontiers.*—(a) After the Mutiny, the Indus was regarded as the boundary of North-West India until 1875. After 1875 the forward policy was revived, and resulted in the Second Afghan War in 1878, which was due to a fear of Russian power in Turkestan, and the refusal of the ruler of Afghanistan to keep his treaty agreements with Great Britain. He was deposed, and soon afterwards he died (1878). A friendly ruler, Abdurrahman, was put on the throne; he proved a capable ruler and friendly towards Great Britain; he ruled until 1901.

(b) In 1885 occurred the Third Burmese War, due to interference with merchants. It resulted in the annexation of Burma.

(c) In 1876 a treaty was made with the chief of the Confederacy of Baluchistan, providing that British troops should occupy Quetta, which commands the Bolan Pass, and that the chief of the Confederacy should enter into no

engagements with foreign powers. A subsidy from Indian revenues was voted.

2. *The Government of India*.—(a) The *Viceroy*, who is appointed for five years, has power to overrule his Council in case of emergency.

(b) The *Executive Council* consists of seven members, who are appointed by the Secretary of State for India. They preside over departments dealing with finance, revenue, and agriculture, army supply, public works, home affairs, commerce and industry, and war.

(c) The *Legislative Council* (which includes the Executive) consists of 64 members, some being nominated, the others elected by native and commercial interests.

(d) The *Provinces* under direct British rule are controlled by Governors (Bombay, Madras, and Bengal). Each province is divided into districts, at the head of which is a Magistrate.

(e) *Native States* (numbering nearly 700) are independent as regards local affairs, except in cases of misrule.

3. *Internal Reforms*.—(a) The means of communication were improved and developed. Railways were constructed, trunk roads made, bridges and canals divided.

(b) Agricultural problems received attention, especially the question of irrigation. Great dams and reservoirs were built, new plants, such as tea, were introduced, efforts were made to overcome famine, the land system was improved, and agricultural banks established.

(c) Education was improved; universities were established at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. Primary and secondary education also received attention.

(d) In 1858 a proclamation stated that no one should be debarred from any office by reason of race or creed. In 1879 the Civil Service was re-organised, many appointments being exclusively reserved for natives. In 1884 a

Local Self-Government Bill gave to 760 municipalities elective self-government. In 1892 the number of natives on the Viceregal and Provincial Councils was increased.

74. The Government of India Act, 1919.—This important measure was the result of an agitation among the more educated natives of India for a measure of self-government. The Montagu-Chelmsford report was issued in 1918, and its recommendations formed the basis of the Government of India Act, which was passed by the British Parliament in 1919. The purpose of this Act is to set India on the road to self-government, and to create a country that will be a union of self-governing communities. The Act has been well received by all moderate opinion in India. It provides for an immediate extension of the native element in the Central Government, and for the ultimate attainment of responsible government in the provinces. The Act is not yet in full working order, but the changes proposed may be summarised as follows:—

(a) *The Secretary of State for India* is to be paid by the British Government, and not out of Indian revenues. The Council of India is to consist of from eight to twelve members, half of whom must have resided or served in India for a period of ten years. The King is empowered to appoint a High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, and may delegate to him some of the powers previously exercised by the Secretary of State.

(b) *The Central Government of India* is to consist of a Governor-General, with an Executive Council appointed by the King, and a Legislature, consisting of two chambers. The Council of State, or Upper House, is to consist of sixty members, of whom twenty-seven are to be nominated; the Legislative Assembly is to consist of one hundred and forty-four members, of whom forty-one are to be nominated. Differences of opinion are to be settled by a joint session

of both chambers ; but the Governor-General retains the power to declare a measure to be essential, and this gives it the power of law without the assent of both chambers. The Council of State is to sit for five years, and the Legislative Assembly for three years, although the Governor-General may reduce or extend these times in special circumstances. There is generous provision for native representation on the Executive, and in both chambers.

(c) *Provincial Governments*.—Whilst the Central Government has authority over such questions as defence, railways, and tariffs, the Act provides for the establishment of Provincial Legislatures, which are empowered to legislate for the “peace and good government” of the provinces. The eight provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam, are each to be administered by a Governor and an Executive Council, and a Legislature of elected and nominated members. The assent of the Governor is necessary for all legislation : the Governor, however, may return any proposed law to the Legislature for reconsideration, or may refer it to the Governor-General.

75. Further India.

Burma.—Side by side with the development of our Empire in India, another empire was growing up on the other side of the Ganges, by the union of several states to form the Kingdom of Burma. In the early nineteenth century, the two empires came into conflict over the question of boundaries, and later in the century there were disputes over trading rights.

The First Burmese War (1824-1826) was caused by the demand of the King of Burma that the Indian Government should surrender certain portions of Bengal, on the ground that they had been former dependencies of

Burma. Upon the seizure in 1824 of Cachar, a district of Bengal, war was declared by the British; Rangoon was occupied, and an expedition sent against the Burmese province of Arakan. As a result of this war, Burma ceded to Britain the province of Assam, the maritime districts of Arakan, and Tenasserim.

The Second Burmese War (1852) was due to the extortion of the Burmese, and the insolence with which British traders were treated. Continued demands for redress of grievances were refused, and war was declared in 1852. The campaign was short: the lower valley of the Irrawaddi was occupied, and the port of Rangoon blockaded. In 1852, the whole of Lower Burma, including Rangoon, was annexed.

The Third Burmese War (1885-1886) was due to the refusal of the King of Burma to accept a British resident, and to his partiality towards the French, whose interests in the East threatened those of Britain. Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burma, was captured, and the country was annexed in 1886, although the dacoits, or bandits, prolonged the struggle till 1889.

The Straits Settlements.—During the eighteenth century the British and the Dutch were keen rivals in the Far East. After Napoleon's conquest of Holland in 1795, the Dutch possessions in the East were seized by the British, but were restored in 1814 in return for the recognition by the Dutch of British claims to Cape Colony.

In 1819, Singapore was acquired from its native ruler, and was used as a base from which British interests in the Far East might be advanced. In 1824, Malacca was obtained by treaty from the Dutch; in 1837, Singapore was made the centre for the government of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. In 1867, these possessions were formed into a Crown Colony, known as the Straits Settlements, and administered by a Governor, with an Executive,

and a Legislative Council. In 1886, the Kokos Islands, and in 1903, Christmas Island, were placed under the administration of the Straits Settlements.

B.—CEYLON.

76. History and Administration.—To the south-east of India, separated from the mainland by the shallow Palk Strait, lies the pear-shaped island of Ceylon. Its tropical fertility and luxuriance and its resources of precious stones make it naturally desirable, and European plantations cultivate tropical products on an extensive scale.

In the fifth century B.C., the Hindus from Northern India invaded the island. In the north of the island, the population is mainly Tamil, and the religion is Hindu, whilst in the southern districts Buddhism was introduced from India in the third century B.C.

The Portuguese first visited Ceylon in 1505, and formed settlements on the west and south. In 1656 the Portuguese were driven out by the Dutch, who remained in the island till 1795. In that year the Dutch settlements in Ceylon were annexed to the British Presidency of Madras. In 1801, a separate colony was formed. In 1815 the interior districts, ruled over by the Kings of Kandy, were occupied by the British; the native king was deposed, and the whole island was brought under British rule. Unsuccessful rebellions, which aimed at driving out the British from the interior, caused a reconstruction of the government in 1833. The administration of the island was placed in the hands of a governor, assisted by an Executive Council of seven members, and a Legislative Council of twenty-one, including native representatives. This constitution, with modifications, exists to the present day. English law has now taken the place of the old Roman-Dutch code.

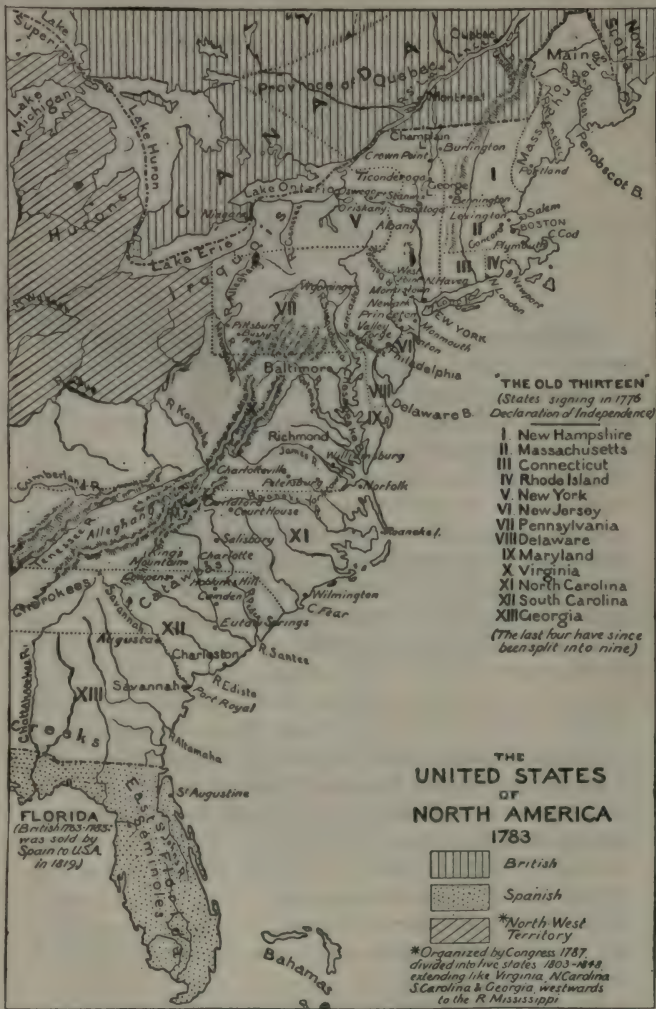
CHAPTER VI.

CANADA.

77. Discovery.—According to the Icelandic Sagas, the earliest voyagers to America were the Vikings, who during the tenth century, whilst on a voyage from Iceland to Greenland, sighted land to the west. In the year 1000 they sought this land, and coasted the shores of North America; but these voyages were mere incidents, and the Norsemen left no tangible proofs of their visits.

Accurate knowledge of North America begins with the discoveries of the explorers of the Renaissance period. Cabot, sailing in 1497 under the orders of Henry VII., reached Newfoundland, and after him came the seamen of all nations. The real discoverer of Canada was Jacques Cartier, a sea-captain of St. Malo. In 1534 he visited the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and a year later he sailed up the mouth of that river, visiting the Indian villages of Stadacona (Quebec) and Hochelaga (Montreal). His report led the French King to organise a settlement with Cartier as Captain-General: his mission was to explore, to colonise, and to convert the heathen. Cartier sailed on his second voyage to Canada in 1541, but his settlement proved a failure, and was soon abandoned. The reasons for this failure are not quite clear, but it may have been due to bad administration, and inadequate defence against the Indian attacks.

Not for many years did England take any part in this



design of acquiring Canada. Newfoundland, founded by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, became the oldest English colony, and its fisheries promised a rich return. Gilbert organised his expedition with a view to definite settlement; his company consisted of two hundred men, among whom had been included craftsmen likely to be of use in a new settlement. In spite of most promising circumstances, Gilbert was forced to return on account of discontent and sickness, yet with the determination of repeating the enterprise on a larger scale and with better preparations in the following year. Unfortunately, however, on the homeward voyage, the ship foundered and all on board were lost.

Gilbert's work was taken up by Raleigh, who founded the colony of Virginia in 1584 and Guiana in 1595. Other colonies were founded from time to time along the east coast of America; yet the extreme north was neglected by the English, to whom the lands round the St. Lawrence did not appeal. The various colonies which were founded by the English during the reign of James I. were distinct from one another in religious belief, and had no unity or common interest.

78. The French in Canada.—In contrast to the English system, French colonisation was under the direct supervision of the King of France: no religious differences divided the French colonies, since the French Canadians had always been loyal Catholics. The French colonists spread rapidly along the St. Lawrence, to the Great Lakes, and then southwards to the Mississippi and onwards to the Gulf of Mexico. The English colonies along the east coast were thus shut in by the French from the very first. But the French had one disadvantage in not having command of the seas: as a result they were always fewer in number than the English.

In 1603 *Champlain* commenced his career as the coloniser of "New France," as the district round the St. Lawrence was called. Quebec was settled by him in 1608, and received a permanent garrison. The great district of Acadia, which included the modern New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, was proclaimed a French colony, and a settlement was planted at Port Royal. The Treaty of St. Germain, 1632, formally recognised the French as the possessors of the St. Lawrence basin and the vaguely-defined district of Acadia. Yet, in spite of this, the settlements of the French in Canada until 1660 were few and weak, and did not endanger the security of the New England Provinces.

Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV., was responsible for the expansion and development of French settlements in Canada. He saw the possibilities of trade if this expansion took place, and chose America as the field of his experiments. Political, military, and financial administrators were despatched by Colbert to North America: they were accompanied by Jesuits, nobles, traders, and settlers. Henceforth the French in Canada were of interest to the English settlers in a threefold aspect—as explorers, as colonisers, and as rivals.

(a) *As Explorers*.—In 1668, the great French travellers, La Salle and Marquette, set out to explore the West: they were fired with the ambition of finding a short way to the Pacific.

La Salle explored Lake Erie, and from there passed on to Lake Huron and Lake Superior. In 1671 the upper tributaries of the Ohio were explored, and in the same year Louis XIV. was proclaimed sovereign over all the newly-discovered lands, which were given the name of Louisiana.

Marquette was a typical Jesuit, combining in himself

traveller, explorer, politician, and religious emissary. Travelling by way of Lake Michigan, he first reached the Mississippi: he explored that river beyond the junction with the Missouri as far as the River Arkansas, where he turned back. His work was completed by La Salle, who in 1682 explored the Mississippi as far as its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico.

(b) *As Colonisers*.—The supreme political and administrative control of New France rested with the King and his ministers, who appointed the colony's chief officers, there being no desire for self-government. The influence and the power of the Crown in these French colonies stand out in striking contrast to the offhand and unregulated methods of British colonisation. The French King controlled emigration, and placed restrictions on trade by granting monopolies to individuals or to corporations. The cultivation of land and the price of goods were fixed by law: trade with British colonies was forbidden. Taxation was light, but the cost of ruling the colonies was a great strain on the French treasury. The population of the French colonies increased slowly, and in 1697 was only about 25,000. The land-system was but a revival of feudalism with baronial landowners and subtenants. The defence of Canada was likewise in the hands of the Mother Country, regiments of the royal army being stationed there to secure internal order and freedom from attack. Behind all this was the Church of Rome, the real controlling power of New France: she supported absolutism and repressed independent activity.

(c) *As Rivals*.—The British and French settlers in North America were rivals because of the position of the French settlements. The British, who had been the first to discover Newfoundland in 1497, still claimed that island by virtue of discovery, and looked with envious

eyes upon the French settlement in Acadia. The British in Canada had no protection against the French except that provided by the home Government. There was no definite boundary between the British and French colonies; each nation claimed as much as it could defend. Indian tribes held the dense forests of the Alleghanies, and, at the instigation of French officers and French adventurers, made countless attacks on the New England States. Wars in Europe between England and France had their counterpart in America. During the War of the Grand Alliance (1689-1697), war took place between the British and French colonists along the whole frontier from Maine to the Hudson River. Acadia was captured by the British, but restored in 1697 by the Peace of Ryswick.

The War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) made New Hampshire and Massachusetts the object of fierce French and Indian attacks. By the Treaty of Utrecht, Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay Territory were definitely declared to be British possessions, and Acadia was ceded by the French. Yet the French did not give up all hope of ultimately holding the whole of Canada: they built Louisburg in Cape Breton Island to replace Port Royal in Acadia, which they had lost. They made Louisburg the strongest naval base in North America, and urged the ministers in Paris to treat the British as interlopers, and to claim and develop all land west of the Alleghanies. But once again the weakness of the French was that they did not possess the command of the seas.

79. The Struggle against the French, 1740-1760.

—The French adopted two methods of defence in Canada.

Firstly, they explored the west in the hope of making Indian tribes their allies; they therefore penetrated the mountains of Colorado in 1739; the region of Dakota was

reached in 1743, and in 1752 the basin of the Saskatchewan was explored.

Their second method of defence was to unite by a chain of forts the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana. Louisbourg guarded the mouth of the St. Lawrence and menaced Acadia: a fort at Crown Point, built in 1731 on Lake Champlain, made it impossible for the British to cut off Montreal and the Great Lakes from the sea. Fort Frontenac on the northern shore of Lake Ontario guarded the outlet of the lake, whilst Fort Niagara secured the communication of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Other forts were built in the west to prevent British expansion westwards. It must, however, be remembered that, in spite of these claims to vast dominion by the French, the western districts had not been settled by them, but merely explored.

The British defences were feeble: Acadia was a source of weakness, being ill-governed, neglected, and badly garrisoned. Maine and New England were defended on the west by dense forests, but these were the avenues of Indian attacks. Other colonies were further removed from French dangers, and were spreading indefinitely westwards to the Alleghanies.

It was always the object of the French to regain possession of Acadia, which had been lost by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The British ministry under Walpole made no effort to reconcile the province to British rule, and on account of the activity of Jesuit emissaries, the French attacked it in 1744. The attack failed, and in 1746 the British replied by attacking Louisbourg, which was captured after a siege of three months. The supremacy of the British Navy prevented the French from sending a relieving force by sea. This was an important capture, since Louisbourg commanded the mouth

of the St. Lawrence, but at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, it was restored to the French in exchange for Madras.

The British now began to offer further resistance to French claims by crossing the Alleghanies and settling in the Ohio basin. In 1751 the newly-formed Ohio Company was granted by George II. a large area of land in the Ohio basin: the Assembly of Virginia urged the building of a fort on the Ohio, where Pittsburg now stands. A weak Virginian force took possession of that spot, but General Duquesne in 1754, expelled the British, and the French afterwards built Fort Duquesne in that place.

In 1754 the first step towards union amongst the British colonies was taken. These colonies were diverse in outlook, customs, and religion, and by no means could they be called "united states." Each was interested merely in local affairs, and only under much pressure from England did they call in 1754 a representative Congress to discuss their common danger. Benjamin Franklin at this Congress urged closer federation by setting up a Council of Defence for the thirteen colonies. The Congress refused to do this because it might interfere with the local independence of each state. In 1755 the home Government intervened, and sent General Braddock with two British regiments to expel the French from the basin of the Ohio. A general plan of operations was drawn up, by which the French were to be driven from Fort Duquesne: other forts were to be attacked and Louisburg to be captured as a preliminary to an attack on Quebec.

The attack on Fort Duquesne by Braddock led to a great British disaster. He was not fitted for such an enterprise, and, being ignorant of the methods of colonial

warfare, he foolishly kept his troops in close order in the forests of the Alleghanies. As a result, they fell an easy prey to the French and Indians. After this disaster, a terrible border warfare took place during 1755-6, and the Indians threatened to over-run every state.

In 1756 the French easily repelled the British attacks on Fort Niagara: Montcalm captured the strong British fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, and built an impregnable fort at Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain. The French aim was now to occupy the valley of the Hudson, and then to cut off the New England States from the Southern States. The French continued to be successful during 1757. They repelled a British attack on Louisburg and maintained their position elsewhere. In the successes, the French did not hesitate to avail themselves of the barbarities of their Indian allies.

The accession of Pitt to power in June 1757 was the turning-point of the war, which for the first time became a national conflict. New men were chosen for leaders, and the fleet and the army were reorganised. In 1758, General Forbes, one of Pitt's new men, forced his way across the Alleghanies, to find that Fort Duquesne had already been evacuated by the French. Louisburg was captured in the same year by Amherst and Wolfe: Fort Frontenac was taken from the French and Oswego recovered. These successes made it possible to attack Canada from the rear.

Elaborate preparations were made in England for an attack on Canada itself. During the winter of 1758-9, British dockyards were busy fitting out a squadron for an attack on Quebec, which had been made possible by the capture of Louisburg, and by the continued supremacy of the British fleet on the seas. The fleet, with nine thousand troops on board, under Wolfe, sailed early in 1759. It was arranged that Wolfe should be supported by Amherst,

who was to divide the French forces by attacking the French positions on Lake Champlain. However, this plan failed, and Wolfe was left to his own resources to capture Quebec.

After vain attempts to reduce the city by bombardment, Wolfe moved up stream, in spite of the fire of the fortress. He was handicapped by sickness and by the approach of winter, but, having been informed of a steep, narrow path which led up to the Plains of Abraham, he set out soon after midnight on September 14th to scale this path, which was found to be unguarded. When day broke, Wolfe had succeeded in facing the army of General Montcalm with 4,500 troops. The French were soon repulsed, but in the fight both Wolfe and Montcalm were mortally wounded. The city of Quebec was evacuated, and by this success Canada was virtually won for the British. The French army did not, however, surrender immediately: in 1760 they besieged the British in Quebec, but the British command of the seas was the decisive factor. A relieving fleet appeared in the St. Lawrence: the siege of Quebec was raised, and Montreal was attacked and surrendered unconditionally to Amherst. All French officers, troops, and officials were by agreement sent to France in British vessels, and Canada passed at once under British rule. By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, which brought to a close the Seven Years' War, Canada was formally acknowledged to be a British possession.

After 1763 the history of Canada falls into three periods: during the first period, from 1763 to 1815, the Canada that we know to-day was founded; the second period, from 1815 to 1867, was a time of unrest, ending with the federation of all the provinces in 1867; and the last period, from 1867 to the present time, was an epoch of consolidation and progress.

80. The Founding of British Canada (1763-1815).

—When British rule began in Canada in 1763, the population of that country consisted of about 65,000 French Canadians, and about 200 settlers from New England: they consisted, for the most part of illiterate peasant farmers, a few gentry, merchants, and priests; they possessed their own code of laws, and were devout Catholics. The aim of the British Government was to treat the French colonists with consideration, and by a proclamation in 1763 the colony of Quebec was established as a new and separate government, with a Governor and Advisory Council to administer the colony. The task of governing a people which was alien in language, religion, law, and mode of life presented some difficulties to the British Government. The Roman Catholic Church was not merely a religious, but, in addition, a political power in Canada, and during the long struggle with the French it had been hostile to England. Again, the Canadians had had no experience in self-government, since, in law and in land-system, they had merely adopted what they had been used to in France. It was due to the excellent administrative abilities of Murray and Carleton that these difficulties were overcome, and good government given to Canada.

In 1774 the *Quebec Act* was passed by the British Parliament: this Act acknowledged Roman Catholicism as the religion of the colony, and maintained the French law in civil cases, but substituted the English law in criminal cases. This Act satisfied the feelings of the Canadians, and, in spite of the fact that there were few British troops in Canada, that country remained loyal to the British Crown during the American War of Independence. The French Canadians showed their loyalty by refusing tempting offers from the American colonists, by

resisting invasion, and by co-operating with British troops in clearing the Americans out of Canada.

Throughout the American war, a large number of people in every colony remained loyal to the British Crown: during the war the property of these American loyalists was seized, and they were treated harshly. At the end of the war, a very large number of them, of all ages and both sexes, were reduced to poverty. They were ignored by the American Government in negotiating terms of peace, and it remained to England to do what she could for them. Three million pounds were voted to them by Parliament, but, on account of the difficulties of deciding bona-fide claims, some years elapsed before this money was distributed. Forty thousand of these *United Empire Loyalists*, as they were called, became the founders of British Canada.

In the meantime the obvious method of help was to give these men land under the British flag. Nova Scotia was but thinly peopled, and it provided a home for about thirty thousand loyalists, to whom land was allotted according to rank, and for whom the implements necessary for farming and building were provided.

About ten thousand loyalists were taken to the woods and forests of Upper Canada, as it was called. Rough preparations for their reception were made at a place on the shores of Lake Ontario, and this place afterwards grew into the city of Kingston. Another beginning was made at Niagara, then merely a fort and trading dépôt. These new settlers were not placed under French rule, on account of possible disagreement and difference of religion. The settlers in Ontario were much worse off than those in Nova Scotia: they had greater hardships to bear, they were cut off from the world, there were no roads through the dense forests, and the St. Lawrence was unnavigable

in certain parts on account of rapids. Yet they strove to overcome these disadvantages: they built roads, tilled the lands, and, as a result, immigration from the New England States of America became continuous. By 1791 there were twenty thousand English-speaking settlers in Upper Canada, and it was considered time to give these some definite form of government. Therefore, the *Canada Act* made a separate province of Upper Canada, setting up a Legislative Council (corresponding to the British House of Lords), and an elected Assembly (corresponding to the House of Commons). This Act thus recognised the racial differences of Upper and Lower Canada. It preserved the rights previously given to the French population, and placed the British on the same basis.

For over twenty years after 1791, Canadian progress continued steadily: Ontario continued to attract settlers, and in 1812 Upper Canada had a population of nearly eighty thousand, and had removed its capital to Toronto. In Lower Canada, however, representative government had not proved a success, probably because the French, unlike the British, were without parliamentary instinct and tradition; their constituencies were often illiterate and without any aspirations.

In 1812 the Americans seized the opportunity of Great Britain's war with Napoleon to strike a blow at her power and prestige. In America, the French party was in power, and had desired war for some years. They found a new grievance in the far-reaching effects of the blockade that Great Britain proclaimed against Napoleon, and in the insistence of the British upon the right of searching neutral vessels. The fact that a Briton could become an American citizen caused inevitable mistakes on both sides. The French war party wanted to obtain possession of Canada, the conquest of which seemed easy.

The United Empire Loyalists offered a vigorous resistance, and were joined by the French Canadians, who put aside all grievances against the British, and declared their loyalty. The Americans were weakened, because the New England States, which adjoined Lower Canada, refused to take any part in the war. The defence of Canada seemed hopeless with only four thousand regular troops in both provinces: Great Britain could not send any more troops, since she was engaged in a bitter struggle with Napoleon. The war lasted three years. The principal scene of operations was the thirty-nine mile frontier of the Niagara river, between Lakes Erie and Ontario: fighting also took place at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, near Kingston, and thence along the St. Lawrence to Montreal. The smallness of the number of British troops was more than compensated for by their capable leadership. The Americans failed utterly in this war, and peace was concluded in 1815.

This war swept away the widespread impression that the British provinces were destined to be quickly absorbed by the United States, and that Great Britain, like France, would be expelled from North America. Henceforward both Canada and the United States were to fall out of touch with European complications: the United States learned that war with a paramount sea-power like Great Britain meant commercial ruin.

81. Through Discontent to Federation (1815-1867).—One result of the peace of 1815 was that emigration greatly increased. After that date, there was much unemployment in England, on account of the disbanding of the army and the cessation of industries which war creates. Soldiers were therefore encouraged to emigrate, and were offered land in Upper Canada, which was

gradually being opened up by the aid of steam communication on the great waterways. In some years as many as fifty thousand emigrants left England, and landed at Quebec after a journey of two or three months in a crowded sailing ship. These men spread over the unoccupied lands of Upper Canada chiefly, but a few went to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the English districts of Quebec. Between 1820 and 1837, there was much discontent in Canada: the causes of this trouble were partly racial, partly constitutional, and may best be understood by an outline of the conditions of Upper and Lower Canada between those dates.

(a) *Upper Canada* tended to become more important than Lower Canada, because of its rapid increase in population. The United Empire Loyalists, who had fought so bravely against the Americans between 1812 and 1815, regarded themselves as the special guardians of Upper Canada. They had therefore gradually developed a kind of clique, which in reality governed the country and kept all offices within its circle. They adopted a distinctly aristocratic point of view, and the Governor's Upper Chamber of the Legislature was entirely drawn from this class, which for a long time had a majority in the Lower House. This party of loyalists also controlled large areas of Crown Lands, which they used to strengthen their position: troublesome agitators were suppressed, and often treated with great harshness. Thus the loyalist families not only were entrenched behind privilege and power, but also professed themselves guardians of anti-Republicanism.

The opposition to this party consisted largely of American settlers, who resented being ruled by an aristocratic oligarchy. Their leaders, however, made the mistake of continually holding up American institutions as models, and, although many of their demands were reasonable and

became law later, they were expressed in tactless language, which inflamed the opposition of the United Empire Loyalists.

The influence of the reform agitation in England, and the remarkable growth of the United States under republican institutions, led to further discontent in Upper Canada. The moderate party demanded that the government should be administered more in accordance with the wishes of the people: an elected, instead of a nominated, Upper Chamber was demanded, with an executive chosen from that party which had a majority in the Lower House. In 1837 an insurrection broke out in Upper Canada, headed by a Scotchman named Mackenzie, who, in his capacity of newspaper editor, had long opposed the Government. The rebellion was soon put down by the loyalist militia, and proved a complete failure.

(b) *Lower Canada* had been granted representative government by the Canada Act in 1791, but this had proved a failure. It had been found possible to transplant the *form* of the British Constitution, with its two Houses and a Governor representing the King; but the unwritten laws, which are the essence of the Constitution, could not be so transferred. The power of the Governor was therefore unlimited by custom, and he had more power than the King at home: similarly, the Upper House was much stronger than the House of Lords. The power of the purse made the Lower House supreme in England, but this was not so in Canada, where the Government owned land and could therefore remain in power against the popular will.

The French, who had an overwhelming control in the popular House, desired to obtain entire control of the colony, ignoring the British population, by whose energy the colony had very largely been developed. French

politicians were imbued with a miscellaneous collection of theories representative of the British Constitution, the French Revolution, and the American Democracy. Although they had a large majority in the Lower House, the French demanded an elective Upper House, which meant single chamber government in the French interest. As a result a deadlock arose, and in 1837 a rebellion occurred which was led by Papineau, the speaker of the Assembly. Papineau had wild ideas of setting up a Republic under the United States; but the majority of the French disapproved of the rebellion, and would have nothing to do with it. The Church issued solemn denunciations of the rebels, and the rising was soon put down by regular troops sent from Upper Canada.

These two rebellions coming together attracted the attention of the British Government to the unsatisfactory state of Canadian government.

Lord Durham, a prominent Liberal statesman, was sent to Canada, with full powers as High Commissioner, to examine the condition of the colony. His celebrated report was a masterly description of the state of the country. It traced the causes of discontent to (a) racial antagonism between the English and French: in Lower Canada he found, not two political parties, but "two nations warring within a single state"; (b) differences between popular Assemblies and the Governors' Councils; (c) the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada, where extensive lands had been allotted to the support of the Anglican Church; (d) the Family Compact, *i.e.* the political clique of loyalists who controlled the government.

Lord Durham advised the union of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, with a common Parliament and Government. This proposal was welcomed by the British of Quebec, but strongly opposed by the French.

In Upper Canada the United Empire Loyalists again showed their loyalty by agreeing to this union, and by this action they sacrificed their political power.

The suggestions of Lord Durham were incorporated in the *Union Act*, 1840, which united the two provinces, gave the Assemblies control over colonial finance, retained imperial control over church endowments and waste land, made English the official language, and prepared the way for responsible government. The Act was the beginning of self-government, and under Lord Elgin, who made it a principle to choose as ministers only those who possessed the confidence of the Assembly, the constitution developed.

The operation of the Union Act proved an excellent training in self-government and mutual toleration: the period 1840 to 1867 is one of development, but the growth of new colonies pointed to federation as the ultimate mode of government.

Federation had been discussed after the war of 1812, but it was impossible in those days because of the vast distances between various parts of Canada before the days of steam communication. But various factors made federation practicable and even desirable in the sixties: (a) steamships had crossed the Atlantic and were running on all the lakes and rivers of Canada; (b) the Grand Trunk Railway, with its many branches, had joined up all parts of Upper and Lower Canada; (c) the American Civil War, 1861-5, had raised a sense of insecurity by reviving the old ill-feeling between Great Britain and the United States: there had been a strong feeling in both Canada and England in favour of the Southern States, and therefore, when these states were defeated, Canada did not feel too secure; (d) the ill-feeling between England and the United States was increased by disputes over privateering, which were settled by the payment to the

United States of the famous "Alabama claims"; (e) the United States, hoping to impress on Canada how much she lost by remaining true to the Mother Country, refused to renew with England in 1865 a Reciprocity Treaty.

There was some opposition to federation amongst French Canadians, who dreaded a scheme of government which would be overwhelmingly British; but Sir John Macdonald, one of Canada's greatest statesmen, won over all antagonistic elements. A convention of delegates from all states was held in London in 1867, and the *British North America Act* was presented to, and passed by Parliament in the same year. This Act formed Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia into one dominion, and set up—

(a) A *Dominion* Parliament, consisting of a Senate nominated by the Governor-General, and a representative Assembly. The Cabinet System was introduced, as in the British Parliament. The Dominion Parliament was given control of the general affairs of the country.

(b) *Provincial* Parliaments, which, however, are not uniform, Nova Scotia and Quebec having two Houses, like the Dominion Parliament, but Ontario and New Brunswick having only one elected House. There is Cabinet government in each province: over each province there is a Lieutenant-Governor, who is usually a Canadian. These parliaments deal with local affairs.

This federation has proved a success, and was joined in 1870 by Prince Rupert's Land and Manitoba; in 1871 by British Columbia, and in 1880 by all other territories of British North America, except Newfoundland.

82. Consolidation and Progress (from 1867).—After 1867, the history of Canada may be considered under three headings:—

(a) *Development of the North-West.*—(1) The Hudson

Bay Company, founded by Royal Charter, had long been supreme in the West, and in 1821 united with a rival company, the North-West Company. The only early attempt at settlement of the north-west by Earl Selkirk in 1812 proved a failure. But in 1835 Selkirk formed the Red River Settlement: this proved to be the beginning of the province of Manitoba. In 1835 Fort Garry (the modern Winnipeg) was built and became the chief station of the Hudson Bay Company. In 1869 the Dominion bought this settlement, but the undue haste of the officials in taking possession of it, and their neglect of the claims of the Indians, led to a rebellion led by Louis Riel, a French Canadian. This rebellion was put down by Sir Garnet Wolseley, and in 1870 the Red River Settlement became the province of *Manitoba*, and received a responsible government under a Lieutenant-Governor.

(2) On account of the increase of population, the *North-West Territories* were granted a separate government in 1880, with a capital at Regina. In 1905 *Alberta* and *Saskatchewan* were made into separate provinces and admitted into the Dominion.

(3) *British Columbia* had been explored by Mackenzie and Lieutenant Vancouver at the end of the eighteenth century. During the nineteenth century, miners flocked to the west, and very soon an organised government became necessary. British Columbia, which had been made a province in 1858, joined the Federation in 1871. Thus Canada secured access to the sea at her western boundary.

(4) *Indian "Reserves"* were provided by the government in 1870-1, one square mile of territory being allotted for every five Indians. In 1885 occurred the second rebellion of Riel, owing to the objection of the Indians to new land surveys, and to Riel's desire to secure the inde-

pendence of the north-west. This rebellion was soon put down and Riel was hanged.

(b) *Disputes with the United States.*—Before 1867, disputes had been frequent with the United States, especially on the question of boundaries. In 1842 the Ashburton Treaty had fixed the boundary of Maine, and in 1846 the 49th parallel of latitude had been agreed upon as the boundary of Canada and the United States between Lake Superior and the Pacific, Vancouver being reserved to Britain. Later disputes took place, the chief of these being as follows:—

(1) In 1894 the Behring Sea was declared by arbitration to be an open sea: the Americans had purchased Alaska from Russia, and claimed authority over the adjoining waters.

(2) In 1903 a dispute arose about the boundary between Canada and Alaska: the States claimed the right to control the access to the rich goldfield of Klondyke, discovered in 1896-7. This dispute was decided in favour of the United States.

(3) In 1910 a dispute relating to American fishing rights off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia was decided in favour of Great Britain.

(c) *Internal Progress.*—Remarkable progress has been made in Canada since 1867. The north-west has developed and has become the granary of the world: the older provinces have become noted for their manufactures, whilst British Columbia and Yukon are important on account of their mining industries. The opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway to through traffic in 1886 has been one of the causes of the rapid development of the north-west.

Federal government in Canada has proved a great success, and has been the model for the schemes of government of other colonies. The local interests of the various

provinces have been safeguarded, whilst racial divisions have fallen into the background. French Canadians have produced some very capable statesmen, and harmonious relations have been maintained with the Mother Country. In 1879 a protective fiscal system was adopted, but in 1897 preferential treatment was accorded to British products, without asking for any privileges in return. Canada has ever been ready to prove her loyalty to the Mother Country by readily co-operating both in the South African War, and in the war against Germany.

CHAPTER VII.

AUSTRALASIA.

83. The Pioneer, James Cook.—The first organised exploration of the South Pacific was the work of Captain James Cook, who between 1768 and 1779 made three voyages in that region. In 1769 he partially surveyed the coast-line of New Zealand, and of New Holland from Sydney to Torres Strait. In 1770 he gave the name of New South Wales to his discoveries, under British ownership. His later voyages increased the knowledge of these districts. The natives of the Australian continent were found to be in a state of utter barbarity, with no capacity for improvement. They soon began to dwindle and to die out before the advance of the white men.

84. The Convict Problem.—The loss of the American colonies had a peculiar influence on the destinies of Australia. For a while it produced a lack of interest in further colonisation, but it also brought New South Wales into prominence. The cause of this prominence came into operation none too soon, as the indifference towards fresh colonial undertakings felt by the British might well have left Australia to the French, who were already exploring in the South Pacific. As it happened, however, the loss of one vast possession led to the occupation of another. Until 1776 an annual supply of convicts had been sent to work in the American plantations.

When this was no longer possible, the problem of how to dispose of the convicts gradually reached serious proportions. In 1783 the Secretary of State proposed to unite a convict station with the projected settlement of New South Wales.

85. Early Settlements.—The first expedition, consisting of seven hundred and fifty convicts, set sail in 1787 under the command of Captain Phillip, R.N., as Governor. Their guard, which was a detachment of marines, became later, with their wives, the first free settlers. The convicts landed at Botany Bay in the January of 1788. This site was abandoned by the Governor in favour of the more northerly shore of Port Jackson, which is a magnificent harbour. Here the chosen place of settlement was named Sydney as a compliment to the Secretary of State.

Phillip's command, under the name of New South Wales, included the east coast of Australia from Cape York to the island of Tasmania, and stretched inland as far as the one hundred and thirty-fifth degree of east longitude. Settlement at first occupied only a small district around Sydney. In 1788 the islands of Norfolk and Lord Howe were occupied. Orderly progress under Phillip was aided by the occupation of rich farm land within twenty miles of Sydney, the produce of which was sufficient for the needs of the settlers. Grants of land were made to discharged convicts and to free colonists. Sheep and cattle were introduced. Disorder was promptly suppressed. The first thirty years of the colony were characterised by the military rule of the Governor, who was solely responsible for its maintenance. Free settlers were in the minority. Captain John Macarthur introduced Spanish merino sheep, and planted the first vineyard.

86. New South Wales.—When Governor Macquarrie (1815-1823) was in charge, the progress of the colony was assured. On the Bathurst Plains, west of the Blue Mountains, over a quarter of a million of sheep were reared. The free settlers now began to fix the character of the new colony. Emigration from England began with the rise of industrial troubles at home. The Mother Country spent great sums of money in developing the resources. Coal was found at Newcastle; Hobart and Launceston in Tasmania became new convict settlements in 1804; Moreton Bay in Queensland and Port Phillip were explored. A civil court of jurisdiction was appointed in 1817 under Crown control.

Between 1813 and 1842 remarkable journeys of exploration opened up the west. Gaps in the hills bordering Victoria and Queensland showed the way to the Murray Basin, where were found the Bathurst Plains, the Liverpool Downs, the Darling Downs, and the Monaroo Downs. Many intrepid pioneers, Bass, Flinders, Eyre, Sturt, and others, soon revealed the extent and resources of the country. Drought was the chief hindrance to their journeys.

Increased population and resources soon made it clear that a purely military administration was inadequate. In 1823 a Council was formed of officials appointed from London to advise the Governor. After 1830 this legislative Council became very influential. The Governor still retained much executive power until 1840, when the transportation of convicts was abolished. Elective representation had not yet appeared, although the opinion of the colonists was consulted through the medium of unofficial members of the Council.

87. Other Provinces.—*Tasmania* had been first occupied by convicts. Towards 1810 free settlers began to

arrive, and by 1820 the English numbered six thousand. Sheep were reared for the export of wool. Relapsed convicts, or "bushrangers," and native blacks caused much unrest. Governor Arthur was able to maintain order by stern measures. Here the convict system reached its most grievous point. In 1853 Tasmania received self-government.

Victoria dates from 1834-5, when free settlements commenced at Port Phillip Bay. In 1842 Melbourne received a municipal charter. Here were splendid regions for farming. It became a separate colony in 1851, when the need of effective administration due to the discovery of gold demanded local authority.

Queensland was separated from New South Wales in 1859. It had a double origin. The original settlement at Moreton Bay or Brisbane in 1826 was founded exclusively for convicts and was closed to free settlers. It was abandoned in 1840. The colony was really constituted by the movements of the "squatters" or sheep-farmers on the Darling Downs. They soon became the leading element.

Western Australia grew out of settlements on the Swan River at Perth and Freemantle in 1827. The movement was initiated direct from London. Wheat and sheep were the staples of industry.

South Australia was also initiated from England under the impulse to emigration given by Gibbon Wakefield. It was to be self-contained and free from convicts. The ill-advised scheme of its early days almost ended in ruin, but Captain George Grey saved the situation. Adelaide was built in 1836. Copper was discovered in 1843 at Kapunda and in 1845 at Burra Burra. Sheep-farming, cattle-rearing, and agriculture quickly induced prosperity.

88. Self-Government.—Canada had received a self-governing constitution in 1841. Transportation of convicts

to New South Wales was abolished in 1840, to Queensland in 1849, and to Tasmania in 1853. The Peninsular and Oriental line extended its service to Australia in 1851. New South Wales received a Legislative Council in 1843, two-thirds of the members being elected by the colonists. Customs and the sale of land were not controlled by it.

The growth of a free population was encouraged by an immense impulse to emigration and development when gold was discovered in 1851 at Bathurst in New South Wales, in 1858 at Ballarat and Bendigo in Victoria and in Queensland, and later in West Australia. The population of Victoria increased in five years by five times. Intense excitement prevailed, much movement of the population took place, and rioting called for strong measures.

Lord John Russell, in opposition to the views of Cobden and Bright, refused to give up the colonies, but determined to give them constitutional freedom. Consequently by 1854 New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania were allowed to put into force new constitutions of government which each had prepared subject to Crown approval. The four institutions were alike in having two Chambers, a broad franchise, and an executive similar to the English Cabinet. Customs, revenue, and mining rights were controlled by the Legislatures, and free trade kept commerce free from impediments. Queensland received separate and responsible government in 1859, and West Australia in 1890. It seems strange to find that in 1849 the Swan River squatters of West Australia, instead of condemning convict labour, actually invited the Home Government to supply it. Progress now became rapid and uneventful. Pasture, agriculture, and mining were firmly established industries, and the population was almost wholly British. Everything tended to promote freedom and unity.

89. Federation.—Finally it was seen that united government would benefit Australia as it had benefited Canada since 1867, though in 1850 a proposal by Lord John Russell for an Australian Federal Assembly had been defeated. In 1883 a Conference at Sydney declared for federation. Many pressing problems had arisen: different customs tariffs; common possession of railways and public property; the organising of justice, finance, and defence; the treatment of Kanaka and Chinese labourers; the escape of French convicts from New Caledonia to Australia; and the German occupation of Northern New Guinea.

The Australasian Federation Act of 1885 was rendered ineffective by the opposition of New South Wales to a policy of Protective tariffs. The Australian Commonwealth Act of 1900 was passed by the British Parliament after all the colonies except West Australia had declared their assent by referendum. Tasmania was included, but not New Zealand. The first Federal Parliament was opened on the first of January, 1901, by King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales. Each state elects six senators to hold office for six years. The Senate cannot touch money bills. The House of Representatives is elected every three years by popular vote and is twice as large as the Senate. Parliament deals with trade, finance, postal service, and military and naval defence. The outstanding feature of this constitution is that it implies less dependence on the Mother Country than does that of Canada. It has also promoted the development of democratic freedom and sincere imperial loyalty.

90. New Zealand.—Throughout the history of the colony New Zealand has been independent of Australia, from the year 1817, when the Governor of New South Wales exercised a police control over the traders of the North Island, but expressly disclaimed any further powers.

It offered good prospects to settlers, and the success of Australia weakened British reluctance to further colonial enterprise. In 1839 New Zealand was annexed by proclamation of the Governor of New South Wales.

By the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Captain Hobson with brilliant success induced the Maori tribes of the North Island to acknowledge British protection. These native peoples, like the Kaffirs and Zulus of South Africa, but unlike the Australian blacks, were comparatively civilised, and their treatment has therefore constantly presented a pressing problem to white settlers. In the Treaty of Waitangi an agreement was made concerning the ownership of land, so that only the tribe as a whole could sell, and only the Governor representing the Crown could buy land occupied by the Maoris, who thus gained a recognised place among the subject races of the Empire.

91. The New Zealand Company.—North Island saw the first settlements apart from those of Pacific traders. The year 1841, in which the colony was separated from New South Wales, was the year in which Auckland was built. It was the capital till 1865, when the capital was moved to Wellington. The supreme power of the Governor was unfortunately hindered by the policy of the New Zealand Company promoted in England for purposes of furthering emigration. It procured land in direct contravention of the Waitangi agreement. This colonial undertaking first sent settlers to South Island in 1841. A Presbyterian settlement was settled at Otago and an Episcopalian community went to Canterbury.

The illegal policy of the Company was encouraged by increasing numbers of sheep-farmers, and caused such flagrant infringements of native rights that the Maoris, who were numerous, powerful, and organised, took up arms and might have driven out the settlers. Luckily the

appointment of Sir George Grey in 1845 saved the situation. This eminent governor accomplished two remarkable successes. First, he so firmly upheld the Treaty rights that he won the confidence of the Maoris, and repressed the aggressive attitude of the settlers. Second, his energetic protests against a faulty Constitution imposed in 1847, caused the Colonial Office to repeal it. South Island then made great strides to prosperity.

92. Federal Government in New Zealand.—The interfering Company was dissolved in 1851. A sound working Constitution was established in 1852, based on the suggestions of Grey. It is important to note that no convicts ever landed in New Zealand, and that the Maoris were twice as numerous as the white men. The Constitution mainly resembles that of Australia, but the Upper House was nominated by the Governor; and the Maoris were given representation through native members by a later Act.

A Maori war broke out in 1860 and merged into general opposition to the presence of white men. The warfare was bitter and difficult. Grey was summoned again. He put down the rebellion with a strong hand and firmly settled the Maori question for ever.

In 1876 the Provincial Councils were abolished, the two islands were given a single government, and local authorities administered the counties. Since 1870 New Zealand has grown more and more like Great Britain in many ways. It is considered to be the most homelike of all the British possessions. Its government is extremely progressive and has led the way for Britain in trying many important legislative experiments.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH AFRICA.

A.—SOUTH AFRICA.

93. The Dutch at the Cape.—The history of European South Africa has been much modified by the influence of peculiar geographical conditions and by the relations of the Hottentots, Kaffirs and other natives towards white men.

About the year 1650, a permanent port of call was established at the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company for their Indiamen. The French at Madagascar and the English at St. Helena were attempting a similar task. The first Dutch garrison settled at False Bay. Very few settlers followed, since the Hollanders thought more of the profits of commerce than of those of plantation. The second flow of settlements came about 1687, when French Huguenots exiled by Louis XIV., introduced vine-growing at the Cape. They were a splendid set of colonists, but the jealousy of the Dutch allowed them little scope.

When the colonists ventured beyond the mountain barrier, they found a country good for pasture, but not for agriculture. Here the "Boers" of the veldt became solitary and nomadic, backward and bitterly opposed to

the officials of the Cape and to Europeans. The Dutch were never merciful to natives and the Hottentots and Kaffirs were reduced to slaves, along with others from the Gold Coast and Malaya. Herein lay the beginnings of a grave peril.

94. The Coming of the British.—Fighting in 1781 placed the frontiers between Boer and Kaffir at the Great Fish River and the Sneewberg Mountains. The Kaffirs encroached so often as to make these limits indefinite.

In 1795 Holland became the Batavian Republic and the Dutch East India Company declined. Its administration fell into chaos as the result of corrupt officials and political unrest. Suspicions of French advances towards the East brought the English to the Cape, and in 1795 Cape Town surrendered, as the Stadtholder of Holland was willing to give it up. A military dependency, held solely in Indian interests, it was returned to Holland at the Peace of Amiens; but in 1806 it was finally reconquered from the French control. In 1814 the Prince of Orange sold to Great Britain all the territory then held around Cape Town, and by 1820 British settlers began to arrive. Cape Colony in 1806 consisted of 26,000 Dutch, 30,000 slaves, and 17,000 free natives. Agriculture of many kinds went on along the coast and pasture on the plateau.

95. Cape Colony.—Boer farmers “trekked” as far as the Orange River, with much opposition from the Kaffirs. After 1817 the British Government took in hand the systematic colonisation of the Cape district. £50,000 was granted in Parliament, and money and land were assured to intending settlers. This project commenced with Algoa Bay, the district around which has remained ever since exclusively British, while the remainder of the colony is more distinctively Dutch. This settlement had two important results: free labour began to replace slaves,

and the British and Dutch were compelled to unite for defence against the Kaffirs.

Until 1833 the colony was of a military type. The Governor was responsible solely to the Crown. Dutch local customs remained unaltered. In that year it became a Crown Colony by the institution of two Councils, one executive, the other legislative. Dutch local government was superseded by the appointment of local commissioners. These innovations, harshly enforced, alienated the Boers, as also did the compulsory use of the English language. They were rigid Calvinists, regarding the Old Testament as their code of morality, and held the Kaffirs little better than fit for slaves.

96. Kaffir Slaves.—Especially disgusting to the Boers was the ordinance of the Governor in 1828 declaring all free natives to be rightful citizens. The Boers laid this insult at the door of the missionaries, who were here, as in Canada, a political force. While the Boers told Moravian pastors not to convert Kaffirs, the British ably seconded all efforts at conversion.

This was the time when Wilberforce was advocating the freeing of all slaves. In 1815 severe punishment of an outbreak on the part of the Boers, caused by the arrest of a farmer for an outrage on a native, finally produced a division of feeling about slaves. In 1834 slavery was abolished in all British colonies. The Boers could not conceive its meaning; they had the old Hebrew hatred of the heathen, at whose hands they lived in daily peril. The missionaries did not understand the Boers, and so they drifted apart.

97. The Kaffir Wars.—Into the midst of this conflict between the uncontrollable Boers and the progressive government and missionaries, came the Kaffir wars. Between 1811 and 1878 the Kaffirs were a perpetual source of

danger. Added to this menace was another, even more alarming, for from 1812 to 1836 the Zulus, who were skilfully organised on a war footing by Tchaka and his successor Dingaan, had laid waste much land and had driven out the Basutos and the Matabele. The Zulus by 1830 cleared the Kaffirs out of Natal and the latter in 1834 crossed the frontier of the Great Fish River and raided to the north of Algoa Bay. Governor Benjamin D'Urban in 1835 drove them beyond the River Kei. He determined to make that river the new frontier and concluded an agreement by which the Kaffirs were to become British subjects. Notwithstanding the approval of both Dutch and English in the colony, the Home Government refused to recognise the settlement, but placed the frontier once again on the Great Fish River. To the Boers this refusal came as a final blow. They had resented the use of English instead of their own "Taal" dialect; they had felt intensely the loss of sixty per cent. of their wealth by the reduction in the value of paper money; the abolition of slavery, for which they received totally inadequate compensation, had further enraged them. To all this was added in 1836 the fear that the British Government would no longer protect them against the Kaffirs.

98. The Great Trek.—The policy of withdrawal imposed upon the colonists by a Home Government which refused to undertake fresh colonial responsibilities, led to the decision of the Boers to leave British rule, and to seek new homes to the north-east, where they would find ample pasturage.

Commencing in 1836, nearly ten thousand Boers "trekked" at various times into the unknown. They crossed the Orange River and the Vaal River. In 1837 Potgieter drove the Matabele out of the Transvaal. Others entered Natal, where Pieter Rietief was murdered by

Dingaan. This was avenged in 1838 on "Dingaan's Day" by his defeat. The British were already established on the coast, and when trouble arose again between Boers and Kaffirs in Cape Colony, the Home Government reversed its policy in 1842 by occupying Natal with troops. In 1847 the Natal Dutch under Pretorius trekked to the Vaal and set up a republic, and the Orange Free State was founded in 1836.

The "Great Trek" of the Boers from Cape Colony therefore took three directions: first, towards Natal, which was annexed by the British in 1843; secondly, across the Orange River to found the Orange Free State between that river and the Vaal, which state was recognised as independent by the Convention of Bloemfontein in 1854; and thirdly, across the Vaal River to found the Transvaal, acknowledged in 1852 by the Sand River Convention.

99. The British Colonies.—By this time opinion had changed at home so much concerning the relations of the colonists that the Home Government urged those of the Cape to accept self-government, and in 1853 representation was introduced in the form of two elective chambers. The franchise was granted, without excluding anyone for race or colour, on a low qualification. Still the Constitution was that of a Crown Colony. It served as a training for the Responsible Government which was granted in 1872, similar to that of Canada and of Australia. It was further hoped that a great confederation of South African peoples would follow.

In 1856 Natal became a separate Crown Colony. The white population was greatly outnumbered by the Kaffirs, but the problem of their relations has been partially solved by introducing them to agriculture and citizenship. The colony had been considered unsuitable for settlers, but

after 1860, owing to the successful production of wool and sugar, Natal began to prosper. The Zulus on the northern border were quelled in 1887. Responsible government followed in 1893.

100. The Boer States.—The Transvaal Boers always clung to their freedom, but the Orange River area had been British territory until the Home Government astonished the Cape Colonists and the Boers by acknowledging its independence at the Bloemfontein Convention. However, President Brand (1863-1888) kept the Orange Free State Boers friendly to Great Britain until 1896, when the Jameson Raid drove them into open alliance with the Transvaal. The latter state was thinly populated by isolated farmers who had no liking for centralised government and who were hated by the Kaffirs. When, therefore, they were threatened in 1877 by internal anarchy and by Zulu invasion, their land was annexed.

In 1879 Bartle Frere shattered Cetewayo's power for ever in the Zulu war, which was marked by the disaster of Isandhlwana, by the gallant defence of Rorke's Drift, and by victory at Ulundi. Saved from the Zulus, and irritated by injudicious commissioners, the Boers took instant advantage of trouble in Basutoland to revolt again in 1860, under Pretorius, Kruger, and Joubert. They defeated Colley at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill. A month later Gladstone recognised their independence. The Convention of London of 1884 removed all further restrictions from the rule of President Kruger.

101. The Uitlanders.—Suddenly a new factor of discontent arose with the discovery of gold at Johannesburg. A steady stream of "Uitlanders" or British immigrants flowed in to aggravate Kruger's position, and the Colonial Dutch formed the "Afrikander Bond" against the Uitlanders, whose mining rights were made subject to heavy

restrictions. The raiders, led by Jameson to force redress, surrendered to the Boers. Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony from 1890 to 1894, found his plans upset. This great statesman had made money at the Kimberley diamond mines. He founded Rhodesia and kept Bechuanaland for the British. He wished to federate South Africa and to make all Africa from the Cape to Cairo the possession of the British.

The Transvaal secretly prepared for war. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, a great imperial statesman, having received a monster petition from the Uitlanders, sent Sir Alfred Milner to negotiate with the Boers of both states.

102. The Boer War.—The Boers would not listen to the proposals, but in 1899 invaded Cape Colony and Natal, and invested Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking. They defeated Gatacre at Stormberg, and at Magersfontein prevented Methuen from relieving Kimberley. Botha prevented Buller at Colenso from relieving Ladysmith. In 1900 Lord Roberts took command. Kimberley was relieved. Buller, beaten at Spion Kop, relieved Ladysmith. Mafeking also was relieved. Cronje surrendered at Paardeburg. Lord Roberts took Pretoria and annexed the two Boer states. The guerilla warfare which followed lasted till 1902. British persistence, colonial support, and Kitchener's genius were finally rewarded in the Peace of Vereeniging, 1902, when annexation was accepted.

Between 1906 and 1907 the Liberal Government gave the Boers responsible government. In 1909 the Union of South Africa was proclaimed, with a united parliament at Cape Town, a single executive at Pretoria, and a judicature at Bloemfontein. Viscount Gladstone was the first Governor-General, and Botha the first Prime Minister.

B.—EGYPT.

103. British Interest in Egypt.—Britain first realised the importance of Egypt during the Napoleonic wars, when the French fleet was defeated by Nelson at the Battle of the Nile in 1798. This frustrated Napoleon's plan of using Egypt as a base of attack upon British possessions in India, and ever since that date, in spite of the evacuation of Egypt by Great Britain and France, in accordance with the Treaty of Amiens in 1803, Great Britain has continued to watch over affairs in Egypt. Yet British ministers have been unwilling to occupy Egypt, because they did not wish to increase their territory in the Mediterranean, or to rouse the jealousy of France, or to incur the heavy cost of occupation. Their aim was to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire, which would have been impaired by the occupation of Egypt.

But in spite of this desire to leave Egypt to work out her own salvation, it became more and more a matter of vital importance that Great Britain should take an active part in guiding the future development of Egypt. During the early part of the nineteenth century, British rule and British trade expanded in India: Australia and New Zealand were colonised, and these developments produced a large increase in the ocean traffic between England and the East. It was necessary for sailing ships to take a long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope; but the question of shortening the route by making a canal joining the Mediterranean with the Red Sea had been considered as early as 1830. A land transport service between Alexandria and Suez was established by an Englishman, Thomas Waghorn, and during the fifties this new route was improved by the construction of railways in Lower Egypt.

A second reason for British interest in Egypt was that

that country was in a state of unrest. Mahommed Ali had obtained command of Cairo, and compelled the Sultan in 1806 to legalise his position by creating him Pasha of Egypt. He established himself in Lower Egypt, and used his position for the attainment of his military and political ambitions. He sought to develop Egypt by the employment of European capital, and when he died in 1849 Egypt had increased her production since the beginning of the century. But Mahommed Ali's administration was barbarous and destructive: taxation was tyrannous, and forced labour was utilised. Uneconomic methods of cultivation were adopted, although some attempt at irrigation was made. Towards the end of his life, Mahommed Ali fell into dotage. After his death in 1849, there was a number of short reigns, and in 1863 Ismail became ruler of Egypt.

A third reason for British interest in Egypt was that the French still had great influence there. The army of Mahommed Ali was reorganised by a French soldier: the canals and works of irrigation were planned by French engineers, and the French sent to Egypt the first European teachers. French law was largely adopted, and French officials employed in various government departments. The work of constructing the Suez Canal, undertaken by a French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, gave Great Britain an unlooked-for opportunity of once again making her influence felt in Egypt.

104. The Suez Canal.—Ferdinand de Lesseps was enabled by French support to carry out his design of uniting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea by means of a canal. Great Britain refused to give any assistance, but, just as in the eighteenth century she had occupied the Cape of Good Hope in order to secure the long sea route to India, so in the nineteenth century she was compelled

to occupy Egypt lest the canal should fall under the control of any other Power.

An International Committee of experts decided in favour of the proposal of the French engineers that the canal should be formed by excavation, and in 1859 the construction of the Canal was commenced. Half the capital was provided by French and other continental investors, the other half by the ruler of Egypt, Said, third son of Mahommed Ali. The Egyptian Government was bound by agreement to grant certain areas of land and to supply forced labour to the Company.

Ismail, who succeeded in 1863, refused to carry out these undertakings, and by arbitration a sum of £3,800,000 was awarded to the Company. The Canal was opened in 1869, ten years after its commencement. England had thus no part in the actual making of the Suez Canal; but a unique opportunity soon occurred of obtaining a predominant voice in its management. The extravagance of the ruler of Egypt, Ismail, compelled him to sell the 176,602 shares which he held, and, through the sagacity and foresight of Lord Beaconsfield, these shares were bought by England for the sum of £4,076,622. The present market value of these shares is about £33,000,000. The Canal has increased in importance during the last fifty years, on account of the rapid development of Australia and New Zealand, and the growth of the Indian Empire. The Suez Canal was declared by a treaty in 1888 between the Powers to be a neutral waterway, but this was accepted by Great Britain only in a limited sense until after 1904, when an arrangement was made with France.

105. The Dual Control (1875-1883).—The incapacity of Ismail made France and Great Britain, who were the two Powers most interested in the safety of the Suez

Canal and the development of Egypt, determine to intervene in the government of that country. A Commission was appointed in 1878, in spite of the opposition of Ismail, to inquire into the financial position of the country. The report of the Commission showed that Egypt was incapable of meeting her financial obligations, and, as Ismail refused to consider the suggested methods of reducing the debt, he was deposed in 1879, and replaced by his son Tewfik. Great Britain and France assumed joint control of the government of Egypt, and the new Khedive was warned that no interference in the affairs of Egypt other than that of Great Britain and France would be tolerated. During this period of Dual Control, the financial position of Egypt was placed on a sound basis; the arrangements then made for the repayment of the debt lasted until 1904, when for the first time the Egyptian Government was able to utilise its revenue in accordance with the actual requirements of the country.

In 1882 occurred the Arabi revolt. This was due to the fact that the Egyptians did not understand the financial policy of the Dual Control: they objected to the use of national revenues for the payment of foreign bondholders, and to the employment of about twelve hundred foreign officials. The rebellion was led by Arabi Pasha, and derived support from the same wave of Muhammadan fanaticism that swept over the Sudan a year later. Great Britain was compelled to occupy Egypt in order to overcome this wave of opposition on the part of the Egyptians: France and Italy refused to intervene, and only after a massacre of the British had taken place in Alexandria did Great Britain undertake alone the task of rescuing Egypt from anarchy.

In July 1882, a British squadron under Admiral Seymour destroyed by bombardment the rebel forts at

Alexandria: the city was, however, burned by Arabi before evacuation. A Holy War was proclaimed by Arabi. On August 3rd a force of British marines occupied Suez, and soon made secure the safety of the Canal. Lord Wolseley, who had been appointed to command the expedition, defeated on September 13th the Egyptian army under Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi soon afterwards surrendered, and was exiled to Ceylon.

The intervention of Great Britain made her responsible for the good government of Egypt, and for this reason immediate evacuation was impossible, although many desired it. In 1882 the Dual Control was abolished; Lord Granville in 1883 promised that British troops should be withdrawn as soon as possible, but in the meantime Lord Cromer (then Major Evelyn Baring) was appointed Consul-General.

106. British Occupation of Egypt (1883 to present time).—The object of the British in Egypt was declared to be the restoration of the authority of the Khedive, and in 1883 it was sincerely believed that the British occupation would be merely temporary. Up to 1904 the difficulties of the work of reform were intensified by the persistent opposition of France, who strove to make her consent to the separate action of Great Britain conditional upon the undertaking to withdraw British troops as soon as possible.

In 1886, when the immediate difficulties of Egyptian government had been overcome, Turkey formally demanded that Great Britain should withdraw her troops, in accordance with her avowed intention. The British Government, in reply to this, offered to withdraw the army of occupation within three years on condition that the reorganised Egyptian army should remain under British officers for two years more: they also reserved the right of re-

occupying the country if its internal peace or external security were threatened. These conditions were not acceptable to France: a Convention of European Powers was held, but no agreement was reached. The question of evacuation fell into the background, and European powers ceased to oppose the British occupation of Egypt. In 1904 an agreement was made with France, whereby Great Britain was given a free hand in Egypt in return for a promise to support France in establishing her authority over Morocco; and in 1914, soon after the outbreak of war, Great Britain, with the consent of her Allies, formally declared Egypt to be a British Protectorate.

The work of Great Britain for Egypt during this period may be considered under four headings:—

(a) *Financial Reorganisation*.—The revenue has been doubled and the actual debt has decreased, in spite of the fact that the taxation per head of the population has been greatly reduced. Trade has developed, and the cultivation of cotton and of the sugar-cane introduced. A general development of agricultural resources has taken place; Small Holdings have been encouraged by the establishment of Agricultural Banks.

(b) *Irrigation*.—Vast waterworks for the storage and distribution of the waters of the Nile have been designed by British engineers. An Irrigation Department has been established to deal with such questions, besides irrigation, as the reclamation of lands and the improvement of the drainage system. Great dams have been built at Aswan, Esna, Assiut, and Zifta.

(c) *Education* has been brought within reach of the Egyptians. A Ministry of Education has aimed at providing a supply of young Egyptians capable of being employed in the public services. Schools and colleges have been built by the Government. Yet the problem before

the Ministry of Education in the future is indicated by the fact that 95 per cent. of the population of eleven millions cannot read or write. In order to reach the masses of the population, an effort has been made to utilise the schools attached to Muhammadan mosques for primary instruction. Attempts are also being made, with success, to educate the girls of Egypt. The Muhammadan University of El-Azhar has also been reorganised.

(d) *Reorganisation of the Army* has been attempted. The native army was disbanded after the Arabi insurrection, but was reorganised under British officers, commanded by Sir Evelyn Wood, the first English Sirdar, or Commander-in-Chief, and later by Lord Kitchener.

107. The Sudan.—The Conquest of the Sudan was necessary in order to defend Egypt adequately. From 1877 to 1879, Gordon had been Governor-General of the Sudan; he put down the slave trade and kept order, but after his recall the Sudan was badly governed by corrupt Egyptian officials.

In 1883 a fanatical crusade was preached by Mahommed Ahmed, the "Mahdi" (*i.e.* the Messiah), who conquered Kordofan and obtained the support of the Sudanese. The British shrank from taking further responsibilities upon themselves in such a vast and inhospitable region. They adopted the position that they were in no way responsible for operations in the Sudan undertaken under the authority of the Egyptian Government; but this position was rendered impossible when the news arrived of the annihilation of the Egyptian army under General Hicks by the Mahdi. This disaster caused great unrest in Egypt and made immediate action necessary.

Lord Cromer realised the inability of the Egyptian Government to deal with the revolt of the Mahdi, and the British Government, unwilling to take further responsi-

bilities on itself in Egypt, resolved that the only possible course was to insist that the Sudan should be evacuated after the Egyptian garrisons at Khartoum and elsewhere had been withdrawn.

In 1884, General Gordon was sent to withdraw the garrisons and to ensure the abandonment of the Sudan. At Cairo, Gordon was appointed by the Khedive Governor-General of the Sudan; but on arriving at Khartoum, in spite of his instructions, resolved not to withdraw the garrisons, but to establish a settled government and to defeat the Mahdi. Gordon was besieged in Khartoum by the Mahdi, who captured the important town of Berber and thus prevented an immediate relief expedition by the shortest route. An expedition was sent out by the Government under Lord Wolseley, but Khartoum was not reached until January 28th, 1885, when it was found that Gordon had died two days previously. The death of Gordon caused great indignation against the British Government; but Gordon had endangered his own life by remaining in Khartoum, in spite of his instructions, and by refusing to escape from that city by a southern route which remained open for a long time.

From 1885 to 1896, the British Government, which had withdrawn its troops from the Sudan, adopted a defensive attitude on the Egyptian frontier. But many people in England considered that this withdrawal was a national indignity: there was also continual danger of an attack on Egypt from the Sudan; and in 1896 the re-conquest of the Sudan was undertaken. The Egyptian army was strengthened by the inclusion of a number of British troops, a military railway was built in the Sudan, and financial assistance was given by the British Government. The Conquest took two years to complete: the towns of Dongola and Berber were occupied, and the army of the

Khalifa was defeated in 1898 by Kitchener at Omdurman, followed by the occupation of Khartoum.

Meanwhile in 1898 the old rivalry between Great Britain and France in Egypt broke out again in connection with the Fashoda question. Major Marchand, who had marched with a small force from the Congo, hoisted the French flag at Fashoda, on the Nile, about 300 miles from Khartoum. This action threatened the effective control of the Nile by Great Britain; but Kitchener, whose victory at Omdurman had saved Marchand's force from destruction, carefully refrained from any attack on Marchand, who was directed to withdraw from Fashoda by the French Government, impressed by Lord Salisbury's firmness. After this conquest, the settlement of the Sudan was undertaken. The joint sovereignty of Great Britain and Egypt over the Sudan was proclaimed, the trade and commerce of the Sudan were developed, and the Gordon Memorial College was founded by Lord Kitchener at Khartoum. These actions were intended to show that the conquerors of the Sudan desired to advance the best interests of that country.

C.—BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

108. The Berlin Conference.—In the middle of the nineteenth century, European powers became interested in large areas on both sides of the continent of Africa. The Berlin Conference of European powers was held in 1884-5 to settle these rival interests, and to define the spheres of influence of the respective powers. In February, 1885, the General Act of the Berlin Conference was signed: it dealt with the conditions of trade on the Congo and the Niger, and framed rules for the future occupation of the African Continent.

109. British Possessions in West Africa.—These include Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and South West Africa.

(a) *Gambia* was first settled by the Portuguese for the purpose of obtaining slaves. In 1620 the English formed a colony there, and during the eighteenth century the English and French fought for possession. Gambia was, however, ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris, 1815. Until 1843 it was placed under the Governor of Sierra Leone, but in that year became a separate colony. In 1866 Gambia was made a part of the West African Settlements, and remained so until 1888, when once again it was erected into a separate colony. The colony is administered by a Governor with an Executive and a Legislative Council.

(b) *Sierra Leone* was discovered by the Portuguese during the fifteenth century, and during the following century slave factories were established there. The native chiefs ceded their territories to Great Britain in 1787, and liberated slaves were settled there. It was attacked by the French in 1794, and for many years it was subject to frequent attacks by the natives. During the nineteenth century it has been the headquarters for the government of Gambia and the Gold Coast, but in 1913 a protectorate was proclaimed over the land surrounding the colony of Sierra Leone, extending about 180 miles inland. A Governor and Commander-in-Chief administers the colony and protectorate.

(c) *The Gold Coast.*—The Gold Coast extends for 334 miles along the Gulf of Guinea, and was first visited by Englishmen in 1591. The African Company established trading centres in 1750, but in 1820 ceded their rights to the British Crown. The Dutch had also formed settlements on the Gold Coast, but they surrendered them

to Great Britain in 1872. The Gold Coast became an independent colony in 1874, and is administered by a Governor, with an Executive, and a Legislative Council, both of which are nominated. It now includes part of Togoland, taken from Germany in 1919.

Ashanti was placed under British protection in 1896, and was annexed by Great Britain in 1901. It is under the Governor of the Gold Coast.

(*d*) *Nigeria*.—During the early part of the nineteenth century, the River Niger was explored, with a view of opening it up to British trade. Little was accomplished, however, until 1879, when the African Company was formed. This Company received a royal charter in 1886, and, as the Royal Niger Company, administered territories over 300,000 square miles in extent. In 1899, the Company surrendered its charter to the British Crown, and in 1900 its territories were formed into Northern and Southern Nigeria. In 1906 the protectorate of Lagos was joined to Southern Nigeria, whilst in 1914 Northern and Southern Nigeria were united to form the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria.

Nigeria is administered by a Governor-General with an Executive Council. There is also a Nigerian Council to act in an advisory capacity.

(*e*) South West Africa is administered by the Union of South Africa, under a mandate. It was taken from Germany in 1919.

D.—BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

110. British East Africa.—This includes a large area on the mainland of Africa to the south of Abyssinia, and also the Protectorates of British East Africa and Uganda, together with the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

(a) *The East African Protectorate* has an area of nearly 250,000 square miles. The territories include dominions which formerly were ruled by the Sultan of Zanzibar, but which were leased to the British Government for an annual rental. In 1906 the Protectorate was placed under the control of a Governor, with Executive and Legislative Councils. The whole Protectorate is now a British Crown Colony.

(b) *Uganda* came under British influence in 1890, and was for a time administered by the Imperial British East Africa Company which had been formed in 1888. A British Protectorate was proclaimed over Uganda in 1894. The land is divided into five provinces for administrative purposes, and native kings are encouraged to govern their own kingdoms. A Governor represents Great Britain, and issues ordinances for the raising of revenue and the administration of justice.

(c) *Zanzibar*.—The Sultan of Zanzibar ruled extensive territories on the mainland of Africa during the first half of the nineteenth century, but in 1856 his African possessions were declared independent. In 1890 Zanzibar was recognised by France and Germany as a British Protectorate, whilst in return Great Britain gave up all claims to Madagascar, and ceded Heligoland to Germany. In 1891 a government was formed at Zanzibar with a British representative as first minister. This government was reorganised in 1906, when a High Commissioner was appointed, with a Council to act in an advisory and consultative capacity.

(d) "*German*" *East Africa* was given as a mandate to Great Britain by the Peace Treaty of 1919. Germany had acquired her rights over this territory by purchase in 1890 from the Sultan of Zanzibar. It is now called the "*Tanganyika Territory*."

CHAPTER IX.

OUTPOSTS OF EMPIRE.

111. Value of Outposts.—When the wars of the French Revolution began, the British possessed only Gibraltar, Sierra Leone, a few small settlements on the coasts of Africa, Canada, Jamaica, some other West Indian islands, some districts in India, and a small settlement in New South Wales. Our command of the sea, so necessary to our commerce and communication, was challenged by the powerful navies of other countries—France, Holland, and Spain. These navies were destroyed during the war, and Great Britain was at liberty to annex desirable colonies and strategical points. Malta, Cape Colony, and Mauritius were taken, and, with several other harbours and islands on the great ocean-routes, became ports of call, coaling-stations, and dockyards for the Royal Navy. They may well be called “outposts,” since they knit together the vast system of defence by which our trade and communications are protected in times both of peace and of war. The most important outposts are:—

(a) In the *Mediterranean*—Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal.

(b) On the *Cape Route* to India and the East—Ascension, St. Helena, Cape Town.

(c) In the *Indian Ocean*—Mauritius, Aden, Singapore.

(d) In the *Pacific Ocean*—Esquimalt, Hong-Kong.

(e) In the *Atlantic Ocean*—Halifax, Bahamas, Jamaica, the Bermudas, the Falkland Islands.

By means of these strategical points, the royal navy is enabled to carry out its defence of the Empire and its patrol of the seas. An enemy would find so much hostile coast-line, so few friendly harbours, and so many sources of peril, that his defeat would be only a matter of time. Commerce raiders and such predatory craft can quickly be hunted out. Supremacy at sea is essential for the defence of our colonies, and one of the most valuable aids is found in these outposts. Ocean routes can be controlled from them. They serve as ports of call, provision stores, dock-yards, wireless stations, and safe harbours for our navy and our mercantile marine. As regards the history of the Empire, they are more essential under modern conditions than was the case in 1588, and are consequently a late development.

112. Mediterranean Outposts.

(a) *Gibraltar* is the first British port on the way to the East, 1,050 nautical miles from Plymouth. It is a rocky headland, three miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide, at the east end of the Straits, which are only thirteen miles wide. Commanding the junction between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, where most of the shipping passes East and West, it is a practically impregnable naval base and coaling-station. It had been held by various nations, and had endured eleven sieges before 1704, the year of Blenheim, when, during the War of the Spanish Succession, it was taken by a force of sailors and marines under Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

Again, during the European War which followed the American declaration of Independence, it was besieged by a great joint Spanish and French fleet. Governor Eliott in 1779 used red-hot shot against the enemies' ships with deadly effect. In 1780 Rodney, after a terrible night

battle off Cape St. Vincent, brought fresh provisions. In 1782, the red-hot shot again defied the enemies' floating batteries, and when Lord Howe brought supplies of provisions and two fresh regiments, though the siege still continued, Eliott was never again in danger. Since then Gibraltar has been British.

(b) *Malta* occupies a central position in the Mediterranean Sea, 1,000 miles from Gibraltar and 940 miles from Port Said. It had been held by successive masters of the inland sea, and under the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem it was a bulwark of Christianity, and enjoyed a flourishing trade from 1530 to 1798, when Napoleon seized it on his way to Egypt. It was retaken in 1800, and ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1814. It is a vastly important naval and military station.

(c) *The Suez Canal*.—Egypt has always had commercial, political, and strategical importance. The Suez Canal commands the only land route to the East between Africa and Asia and the route through the Red Sea, which is the shortest sea route to the East. Great Britain must hold the Canal in the interests of India. It was built by French engineers with French capital, has no locks for its hundred miles of length, and was opened in 1869. The British Government in 1875 bought shares in the Canal to the value of four million pounds sterling, and so became chief shareholder. More than half the tonnage passing through is British. Egypt has now been annexed to the Empire.

113. Cape Route Outposts.

(a) *Ascension* is an island smaller than Jersey, isolated 80° south of the Equator, and 900 miles from the West African coast. It was discovered in 1501 by the Portuguese, but unoccupied till 1815, when it was fortified by the British for coaling and provisioning men-of-war,

as it is on the main track of home-bound ships. It is controlled by the Admiralty as a man-of-war, and is a West African sanatorium.

(b) *St. Helena* is an island as large as Jersey, 800 miles south-east of Ascension and 1,200 miles from West Africa. Here Napoleon Bonaparte died in exile. Discovered in 1501 by the Portuguese, it was used by the Dutch East Indiamen during the seventeenth century, and, after changing owners three times, it fell to the British East India Company in 1673, from whom it passed to the Crown in 1834. Being situated on the Cape Route to the East it would be valuable as a place of call and for provisions, if the Suez Canal were blocked. It would be dangerous in foreign hands, as it can easily be made impregnable. 5,000 Boer prisoners were interned here in 1899-1902, when it had a now-perished flax industry.

(c) *Cape Town*, capital of the Cape Colony, South Africa, at the head of Table Bay and at the base of Table Mountain, 30 miles from the Cape of Good Hope, was taken in 1806 from the Dutch East India Company. It is an important naval station.

114. Indian Ocean Outposts.

(a) *Mauritius* lies 500 miles east of Madagascar, and was discovered by the Dutch in 1507. On the ocean track of the Cape Route, it is fertile, and was first used by the Dutch. In 1715 the French introduced sugar-planting, and their privateers did so much damage during the Napoleonic War that a British expedition was sent, and took the island in 1810. The inhabitants still retain their old French customs.

(b) *Aden* was taken from the Arabs in 1839; *Hong-Kong* was taken from the Chinese in 1841; *Singapore* was purchased from the Sultan of Johore in 1824, and is the

seat of government in the Straits Settlements. All three are strong fortresses and coaling-stations.

115. Outposts in America.

(a) *Halifax* in Nova Scotia and *Esquimalt* on Vancouver Island are now controlled as naval stations by the Canadian authorities.

(b) *The Falkland Islands* are 250 miles from Tierra del Fuego, and were discovered by Davis in 1592. They were ceded to Britain by Spain in 1833. Their strategical importance has now been proved by Admiral Sturdee's naval victory.

(c) *The Bahamas* possess a safe and roomy harbour in New Providence. Watling Island was the land first seen by Columbus.

(d) *The Bermudas* have a royal dockyard on Ireland Island, guarded by intricate channels. In 1609 the wreck here of the ship of Sir George Somers is said to have provided Shakespeare with material for *The Tempest*, 1611.

(e) Port Royal in Kingston Harbour, *Jamaica*, long the buccaneering stronghold, is strongly fortified. Jamaica is the only West Indian island to which any history save that of peaceful progress is attached. The prosperity of the country was seriously checked by the emancipation of the negroes in 1833; there have been many disturbances, and in 1865 a serious revolt occurred among the blacks, which was suppressed and punished with perhaps excessive severity by Governor Eyre, the eminent Australian explorer, who was recalled and subjected to an inquiry, from which he emerged with mingled praise and blame.

116. British Guiana.—The Guianas—British, French, and Dutch—lie in the north-east of South America. British Guiana is essentially the basin of the River Essequibo.

In 1580 the Dutch formed a colony in Guiana, and in

the early seventeenth century Raleigh made several voyages there. In 1652, the British unsuccessfully attempted a settlement at Paramaribo, but it was not until 1796 that Guiana was occupied by the British. In 1803, the northern portion was ceded by the Dutch, and in 1814 this cession was confirmed.

During the nineteenth century, there were several disputes with Venezuela concerning the boundary between that republic and British Guiana. In 1899 the question was submitted to arbitration, and, as a result, the British claims were upheld.

The administration is in the hands of a Governor, assisted by a Court of Policy, consisting of fifteen members, eight of whom are elected, and a Combined Court of twenty-one members. The Roman-Dutch law has been superseded by the English law.

117. World-Relations.—Canada, British South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America, though widely separated, have a common wide outlook, based on kinship of a common origin and on a common deep-seated democratic constitution. Their peoples have identical interests and are faced with identical problems. Each affirms a “Monroe Doctrine” of its own. Each looks with distrust towards the same quarters of possible danger. Each needs room to expand, and has undertaken responsibilities outside its own limits. But the genius of colonists is essentially practical; they carry out vast schemes of constructive ability; they are well able to look out for their own protection. The Dominions are no longer dependent colonies: they are all equal members of the British commonwealth of nations.

CHAPTER X.

THE GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM.

118. Preparation.

Western Europe at the time of the voyages of Columbus was not without examples of commercial enterprise, of colonies, or of empires. Much had been made known through the Crusades and the Renaissance. The two great colonising peoples of antiquity had been the Phoenicians and the Greeks, who spread over the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and founded new communities like Carthage, Syracuse, and Marseilles. These finally became independent of their parent states. The ideal of Empire had been presented by ancient Rome and revived by Charlemagne, by the Holy Roman Emperors, and by the Popes. Emigration for the sake of a new home and a new conquest had been already seen in the cases of the Goths and their kinsmen and of the Saracens.

England herself was not wholly ignorant of the meaning of commerce, colonies, and conquest. The English Edgar had made himself ruler of "Britain"; Canute had a Scandinavian empire; from the coming of the Normans till the reign of John, England formed part of a Continental empire, which Edward I., Edward III., and Henry V. strove in turn to restore. Between 1247 and 1597 there was at London, as also at Novgorod in Russia, at Bergen

in Norway, and at Bruges in Flanders, a trading-post of the Hansa, a powerful commercial league formed for mutual trade and protection by such German cities as Bremen and Hamburg along the North Sea and Baltic coast.

Before the discovery of new sea-routes to the East, commerce came mainly overland and suffered greatly from the attacks of nomadic tribes while in caravans and of pirates while in ships. Venice, at the head of the Adriatic, having overcome such rivals as Genoa and Pisa, had assumed the position of distributing centre. Her greed had been as great a force in launching the Crusades as was religious enthusiasm or feudal restlessness. The Mediterranean was the world's great highway and Central Europe had the chief share of Eastern produce.

When the new sea-routes were found, Venice was quickly outstripped by Lisbon, Antwerp, and London; the Mediterranean overland route gave place to the Cape Route and to the Atlantic Route; and the maritime nations of Western Europe stepped into the foremost places in the control of commerce.

England, at this time of brilliant promise, poor and without industries, was weakened by civil war. Her chief product, wool, was bought by her best customer, Flanders. Her shipping was all either Italian or Flemish, and her bankers were foreigners. The country was isolated and backward, lacking trained commercial instinct, workable capital, and intelligence. It was, however, the characteristic nature of the English people that made them the world's most successful colonists and organisers of empire. Three hardy seafaring races, English, Vikings, Normans, had been blended into one. Their sense of independence has never been subdued. Their freedom, set forth in the most ancient charters, has been defended from attack. Their

instinct for colonising has caused them to spread out over the world. Their commercial initiative is seen to-day wherever there are railways or mining industries. Above all, the nation was favoured in the possession of deep sea fisheries, which are the best of all possible training-grounds for a mercantile marine.

119. Tudor Times.

Tudor despotism provided many things necessary to expansion. Henry VIII. was typical of the New Age of the Renaissance. England was at last arriving at a sense of national unity, and he realised the need for caution in foreign affairs and for an organised national defence. He created the Tudor navy and encouraged fisheries, seamanship, ship-owning, and ship-building. A taste for adventure was growing. The new aristocracy, the merchants, the middle classes, and the country population were alive to the profits of adventure. Foremost in this revived interest were the sea-board towns from London to Bristol; and the merchants of the sixteenth century looked towards the Levant, the Guinea Coast, and Muscovy. An uncomfortable feeling was abroad that the treasure of Mexico was a peril to Europe.

The reign of Elizabeth was a time of experiment. Maritime adventure became closely allied with other aspects of English life. Protestant fervour caused Spain and the Pope to seem equivalent objects of hatred. Channel piracy became a school of practical seamanship, while the life of a "sea-dog" was envied by every energetic spirit in the land. Sir Francis Drake's famous voyage shows the care which was spent in building and equipping ships, the excellence of the seamanship, and, above all, the commercial nature of these voyages.

Maritime adventure began to assume a threefold aspect: (a) it was part of the national policy to harass the

Spaniards and to break into the closed waters of the Caribbean; (b) it was part of the economic expansion to seek new sources of commerce; (c) it was as champions of Protestant Christendom that English sailors went crusading against the horrors of the Inquisition.

The death of Elizabeth left England with nothing more definite as colonial possessions than vague claims in Newfoundland, Virginia, Frobisher's Bay, and New Albion; but these rudimentary gains had given rise to a spirit of voluntary business enterprise. Merchants looked for shorter passages to the East, for new markets for English goods, and even for opportunities of finding precious metals and for privateering.

The earliest settlements failed through inexperience. Colonisation in those early days did not promise rapid acquisition of wealth. The businesslike spirit is illustrated remarkably in that strange and potent obsession of the Elizabethan merchants, the search for new routes to the East. They would not admit the claims of Spain and Portugal to a monopoly of earlier discoveries; but they were fully aware of the advantages of such a monopoly, if only it were their own. They hoped that a northern route would give them free scope. The Cape Route was wholly Portuguese and other nations were forbidden to use its harbours. Portuguese pilots could not be trusted to guide English ships safely. To use that route promised fighting and probable loss of ships, cargoes, and profits. The only marketable English product was wool, and this commodity could be disposed of to the best advantage in cold or temperate climates along a northern route. The barter of wool in exchange for other cargoes would avoid the distressful payment of coin, which was greatly to be desired, since England was poor, while her enemy Spain was rich with the spoils of Mexico.

120. Exploitation (1603).

With the passing of the great Queen there came a time of new men and new motives. Fresh complications arose in foreign politics and in commerce. Hatred of Catholic Spain was now accompanied by bitter dissensions at home and by the rise of Dutch competition. A deeper sense of a serious purpose in life brought a fuller view of responsible action, and careful foresight in settlement and exploitation. The care-free vitality and reckless daring of Raleigh, Gilbert, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher gave place to the set purpose of the Pilgrim Fathers and the East India Company. Experiment was not wholly past, for the principles of colonisation were still unfixed. The guiding motive was still commerce rather than religion or conquest. Proprietors and companies at home looked for profit on their ventures. Titles of discovery, occupation, and native concession were still vague. Most important of all, we begin to see the dawn of self-government and of difficult problems in colonial control in the early experiences of Virginia.

At first Englishmen were divided into two parties on the subject of plantations. One party, of whom Bacon and Sandys were perhaps the most eminent, looked upon them as an expansion of the nation, and thought that the interests of the colonists were identical with those of England.

The other group, that of the proprietors and the companies, supported by the Government, thought that colonies were merely sources of revenue. They won the field when their policy was openly expressed in the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660. This traditional English measure, now renewed, had been rendered ineffective by lack of ships. The Navigation Act of 1651 was intended to serve two purposes: first, to safeguard English ship-

ping interests; secondly, to hit hard at the Dutch, since all goods coming to England were to be carried direct by sea in English ships. Ruin threatened the Dutch carrying trade; but the English colonists were also seriously affected as they had made much use of Dutch freights, warehouses, and markets. Of course the Act was largely evaded. The second Act of 1660 showed clearly that commercial motives were controlling colonial policy, for certain colonial products were to be exported to England only, and all colonial imports were to come from England only, direct by sea in English ships. While merchant shipping prospered, the colonists were deeply resentful.

James I. cared nothing for the claims of colonists, of shipping, or of the navy, and Charles I. could do nothing for them. Cromwell was an imperial statesman of the first rank. His enormous expenditure on naval matters produced an efficient and dreaded navy. The insubordinate tone of the American colonists was subdued and Holland was severely punished. He made the name of England feared in Europe and her flag respected on the high seas.

121. The Mercantile Interest (1660).

After the Restoration of Charles II. plantation began to assume the character of a national policy, bound up with commerce, expansion, and defence. New ventures were supported and ministers attended to colonial administration. Clarendon and Shaftesbury regarded it as a means of securing prosperity and defence against the Dutch.

It is interesting here to record the views of Sir Joshua Child, Governor of the East India Company, in the "Discourse on Trade" of 1668. He praises the Dutch for their commerce, their statesmen, and their ship-building, but despises them as colonists. While he commends the Navigation Acts, he distrusts the attitude of New England.

One of the marks of this period is the confusion of ideas concerning the relation of colony to company.

Under Charles II. and James II., after the fall of Clarendon and Shaftesbury, reaction set in and corruption was rampant everywhere. Especially did the navy suffer neglect, while the Dutch ranged the seas unpunished. About this time Parliament began to exercise chief control of colonies and companies. The mercantile interest was paramount and interference in colonial affairs began to sow the seeds of discontent. Between the years 1660 and 1740 a Colonial Department was in process of formation. Up to 1688 the Crown exercised nominal control; in 1643 the Long Parliament had appointed a special commission to deal with current problems; in 1660 there was formed a "Council of Trade and Plantations," with members from the great companies and merchant bodies, but it was only advisory. It revealed an astonishing activity and its choice of colonial governors was particularly wise. In 1674 its place was taken by a committee of the Privy Council, and in 1696 a "Board of Trade" assumed an interest in industry.

122. Sir Robert Walpole (1721).

Under the administration of Sir Robert Walpole (1721-1742), the minister who so ably tided the nation over the wreck of the South Sea Company, prosperity increased, but on the other hand many future difficulties were arising. His great object was to save Great Britain from the expense of a war, and he would not interfere in anything which might cause trouble. He was a great financier, one of the first advocates of free trade, and practised much valuable national economy. He winked at the numerous evasions of the Navigation Acts; for instance, he allowed Georgia to export rice direct to Europe; but there was still much selfish interference in the internal affairs of the

colonists on the part of proprietors and companies. He left unenforced many measures which, when revived by more conscientious successors, caused instant opposition; but he also accumulated the riches which enabled the elder Pitt to subsidise his European allies and to build up the expanding colonial empire.

The American colonists now looked upon Great Britain merely as a convenient protection against the French. Many open causes of difference lay in questions of religious toleration, Crown control, and the Trade Acts.

Meanwhile the East India Company was pursuing a policy of non-interference in native Indian politics. Any divergence from this course met with strong opposition from the Mogul Emperor. When his empire decayed, the Persians invaded India across the Indus and the Mahratta tribes began to exercise great influence. The entry of the French caused the immediate interference of the English company.

123. Conquest and Loss (1740).

When popular opinion finally overwhelmed Walpole's reluctance to engage the nation in war, the story of British expansion entered upon a third stage—that of conquest. Hand-in-hand with warfare, exploitation and colonisation continued, just as before 1740 the colonists of rival nations fought each other while their governments were at peace. Now expansion was to proceed by the sword. The elder Pitt proclaimed his intention of conquering America on the battlefields of Europe. The colonists were his fellow-citizens. Wolfe, Clive, and Hastings pursued the enemy, regardless of native interests. Henceforth England turned her face towards the ocean.

The fall of Walpole from the confidence of the nation brought forward a new and perilous ideal, that of a tighter grip on the colonists. Unfortunately, the expulsion of

the French from Canada removed from the American colonists the one reason they admitted for British control. They no longer needed British protection. Yet loyalty was deep and sincere; they only wanted liberty of action. Self-government had reached its highest level in New England. Prosperity was self-evident and increasing.

The righteous soul of George Grenville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was tormented by the ineffective state of the trade laws. He wanted to make the colonists pay their share of the expenses of the war, to enforce the Navigation Acts and suppress smuggling, and to place a standing army in America, and tax the colonists to maintain it. He found deep hostility; compromise failed; coercive measures roused instant opposition. Whatever characteristics the British possessed, the colonists had an equal endowment of independent spirit. They knew their industries were repressed, while the mass of Englishmen were densely ignorant of colonial conditions. "No taxation without representation," said the colonists, and put it to the arbitrament of the sword.

Great Britain was beaten by her inexperience of the country, by inefficient organisation, and by the genius of Washington. Plundering roused the enmity of many loyal colonists. Naval power alone saved England from her European enemies, who helped the rebels. Gibraltar bravely resisted a sustained siege; but a vast country, where the wilderness of the West was being penetrated by French-Canadian pioneers, was lost to the empire. The mercantile system lost its ascendancy and new colonial relations took its place. A sense of depression, of useless effort and wasted toil, caused many to prophesy the loss of all the colonies.

1763 / Canada had resisted all inducements to join the revolted

Americans and had welcomed the loyalist exiles. She passed through various stages of inefficiency, chaos, inexperience, and experiment, to final self-government. India was beginning to realise British control, and Australia was being used for settling the convicts who could not now be sent to the American plantations. It seemed terrifying merely to contemplate fresh colonial enterprise, but free settlers emigrated owing to the industrial crisis, and the situation insensibly righted itself.

Colonial self-government became a fixed ideal, but only gradually. The feeling of loss was tempered by the fact that British exports to America increased rather than diminished after the American revolt. Commercial interests continued to dominate for some time, but their ascendancy was gone. Territory was seized for the purpose of defending markets and communications. For this reason India, which was a vast source of riches, came to occupy the first place in British colonial interests. In spite of a declared intention to avoid the increase of responsibilities, the empire continued inevitably to expand. Trade rivalry and political enmity compelled the acquisition of more land in India, and in the East Indies and West Indies. In one part of the world, however, this inevitable expansion was prevented. South America has remained mainly Spanish and Portuguese, because during the Peninsular War these nations were our allies.

124. Changed Ideals (1815).

The changes which took place in English industrial life during the latter half of the eighteenth century gave rise to a rapid increase in the population. In 1750 the people of England and Wales numbered six millions; in 1801 they reached nine millions; while in 1901 the population had increased to thirty-three millions. Consequently Britain was able to people the colonies effectively.

The history of the British colonies really began to have a deep and inner significance at a time when European politics were ceasing to loom large in British eyes. For a century after 1815, Great Britain took little part in the affairs of Europe at large. On the other hand, colonial history was being made. The advance of British influence in India to the borders of Afghanistan brought Great Britain into contact with Russia, whose designs upon Turkey were viewed with suspicion. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 caused rivalry between Great Britain and France in Egypt and the Sudan. The British met the French colonial empire on the borders of Burma and Siam. Similarity of interests in the East and the rise of a Central European Alliance caused Great Britain, France, and Russia to settle their disputes and to join forces in the Triple Entente.

In India and in Egypt, the problem has been to make government tend towards the good of the governed. It has been said that Britain cannot, if willing, evacuate India. This vast dependency is no longer merely a source of profit, but a field for beneficent labours of administrative abilities.

As regards the true "colonies," their later history has been mainly bound up with the evolution of the problem of self-government. There were three principal stages in its solution, each of which Canada was the first to experience. First, representative government was granted, second, responsible powers of executive, third, the provinces of a colony were federated under a single executive government. The great self-governing colonies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa gained full powers of self-government after solving their own peculiar problems in their own way. They have all tried many interesting problems and experiments in government.

125. Imperial Federation.

The experiment of the future is Imperial Federation. Benjamin Disraeli recognised that Great Britain had become "the metropolis of a great maritime empire." He maintained that colonial sympathies had prevented the partition of the Dominions, and asserted the need of a great policy of Imperial union, which would involve an Imperial tariff, a consideration of the responsibilities of defence, and the formation of a representative colonial council. His foreign policy was partly based on his determination to maintain the Empire in such a way as to make it a predominant factor in securing the peace of the world.

Joseph Chamberlain during his period at the Colonial Office (1895-1902) strongly advocated a closer union between the colonies and the Mother Country. The immense improvements which have been effected since 1800 in means of communication have brought about a closer connection between Great Britain and the colonies. It is no longer a matter of extreme difficulty to assemble representatives in an Imperial Parliament. Moreover, we now know much more accurately than was formerly possible the conditions of life in the colonies and dependencies.

The period of Lord Salisbury's administration was remarkable for the Colonial Conference which sat in London to discuss matters of common interest. It was the result of a change in the sentiments of Great Britain towards the colonies. When Australia was given self-government, most British statesmen of the time were quite prepared to grant independence to the colonies. Increased ease of communication and the enormous extent of our colonial trade and inter-colonial commerce changed this attitude completely. Not only was the value of the Colonies better understood, but the importance of the

British Empire was seen in a new light. A new class of statesmen such as Mr. Forster in England, Sir John Macdonald in Canada, and Sir Henry Parkes in Australia, wished to see the Empire remain intact. Mr. Forster was very energetic. After his death in 1886, Lord Rosebery took up the labour. He has declared that the British Empire is "the greatest secular agency for good now known to the world."

Many events have strengthened the Imperial ideal. In 1884, Professor John Seeley issued his great work on "The Expansion of England." The poetry of Rudyard Kipling in its magic reconstruction of British history, in its inspiring studies of the apparatus of modern civilisation, and above all in its appreciation of India, has gone far to make him the poet of British Imperialism. In 1885 a strong impetus to unity was given when New South Wales sent a force to Suakim and Canadian boatmen were employed in the Nile expedition. In 1886, a colonial and Indian Exhibition brought a wider knowledge to many Englishmen. The jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887 was heartily celebrated throughout the colonies, and the colonial secretary, Stanhope, summoned the first colonial conference. Another was held in Canada, at Ottawa, in 1894.

The greatest obstacle in the path to Imperial Federation is the conservative reluctance of the British people towards constitutional changes. Lord Rosebery is reported to have said in the course of a conversation: "I sometimes think that nothing but a great war will ever federate the Empire." The rally of the free democracies of the Dominions, of the natives of the Crown Colonies, and of the fighting races of India to the support of Great Britain in the war against Germany has been spontaneous and complete. Insidious rebellion has not shaken their loyalty in the slightest degree. Sir Wilfred Laurier, when Prime Minister of

Canada, uttered the significant words: "If you want our aid, call us to your Councils." On July 14th, 1915, Sir Robert Borden, his successor in the Premiership, was invited to attend a meeting of the Imperial Cabinet. Lord Milner declared it was an omen. A quarter of a century before this, Lord Sydenham stated on a similar occasion: "We have to create a constitution of a federal character, in which absolute freedom in domestic matters and complete local autonomy, will remain in every part of the Empire which possesses it. But all matters of national concern—foreign policy, defence policy, inter-imperial trade, and communications policy—must be dealt with by a separate and an Imperial body."

We have now reached a point in the history of the growth of the British Empire when Imperial Federation has found its greatest claim for realisation. In the early days of the Great War of 1914-1918, the unity of the British Empire stood revealed as never before. There can now be no doubt as to the loyalty of all parts of the Dominions to the Imperial ideal, and of their determination to remain united. The Germans fully believed that they could shatter the British Empire at the first shock. They thought the British were degenerate, but soon found them their principal enemy. In India, in the Far East, in South Africa, intrigues failed to prevent the immediate rally of the Dominions. The Union of South Africa undertook the conquest of German Africa. Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, and New Zealand sent men and materials to the various theatres of war. The Australian and Canadian naval services did magnificent work. Indians, Fijis, Maoris, and all the other native races provided splendid troops. Undying glories enshrine the valour of our Dominion soldiers and sailors, no less than that of the men of Great Britain and Ireland.

The presence of the Dominion statesmen at many a council of war proves the sovereignty of the Dominion governments. In the deliberations of the various committees of the Peace Conference, the foundations of Imperial Federation were being laid by a recognition of colonial claims and duties.

Here, then, we leave the history of the growth of the British Empire, when the great Reconstruction is at the point of realisation.

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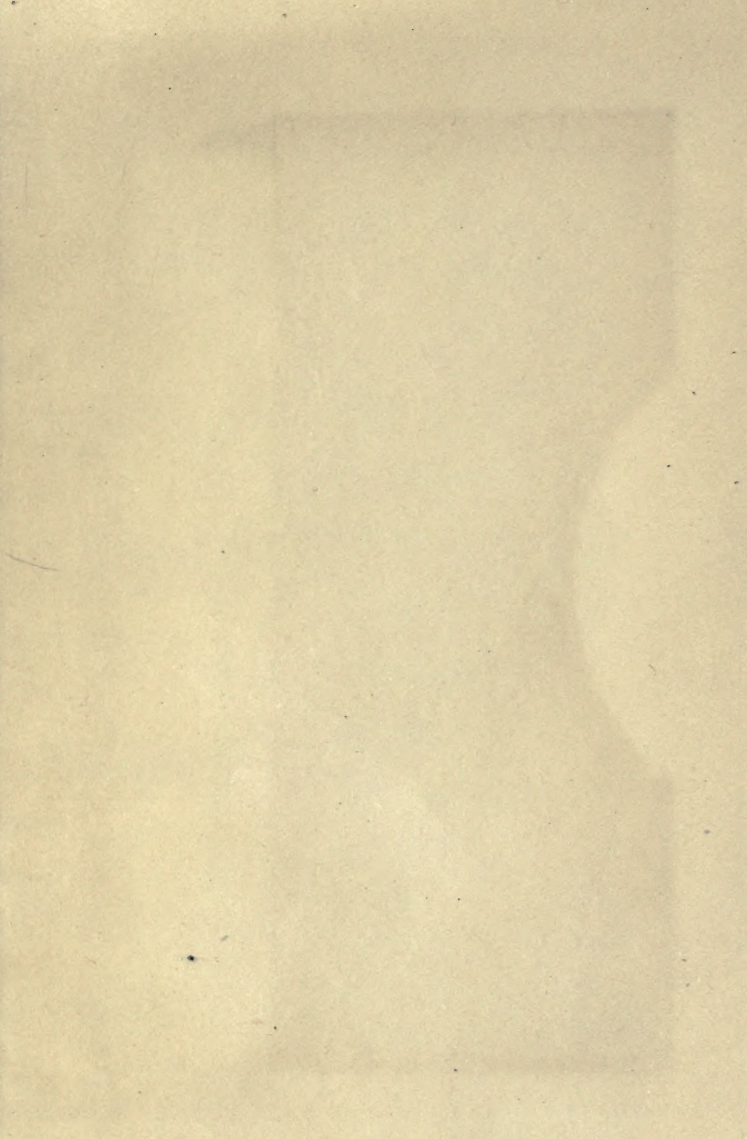
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